Workers Of The World, Unite!

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French Referendum And Coming Elections

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TRUMAN CALLS FOR SAVAGE LAWS IN BIG BUSINESS WAR UPON LABOR

The Road Labor Must Follow For Victory

By The Editors

The dramatic events of the past week mark a major turning point in the development of capital-labor relations in the United States. They open an extremely important new chapter in the life of American labor.

For the past six months the mightiest wave of strikes in our history has been rolling over the country. One big union after another has been drawn into this titanic strike movement until it has embraced the most decisive sections of the entire working class.

The first stage of this struggle against Big Business was initiated by the CIO unions, the most advanced and dynamic force in the ranks of organized labor. Now in the second great wave the strike movement has spread to the miners and railroad workers.

Far-Reaching In Scope

The entry of the railroad unions into the arena of strike action is the clearest sign of the far-reaching scope of the class struggle and the profound depth of the social crisis. The railroad brotherhoods are the traditional fortresses of ultra-conservative unionism. The engineers and trainmen have not engaged in a strike for over fifty years. Wave upon wave of strikes have swept over the labor movement without budging the bureaucracies of the rail unions.

Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Alvanley Johnston, chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, are among the foremost advocates of class collaboration policies in the union movement. The United Mine Workers President, John L. Lewis, while more militant in his methods, is a champion of the "pure and simple trade unionism" of the old Gompers-AFL school. Only six months ago at Truman's invitation these union leaders were in Washington participating in a joint labor-management conference with the representatives of Big Business seeking a formula for settling disputes without resort to strikes.

Today these union leaders have not only been obliged to call strikes. They have found themselves violently opposed by the very Truman administration which they counted upon for help in their negotiations with the rail and mining magnates.

Alarmed by the uninterrupted series of strikes and the growing strength and militancy of the working class, Big Business has decided to launch a full-blown counter-offensive against labor. The financial and industrial lords of Wall Street are up in arms. Their rule and their priv-

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Wall Street's Strikebreaking Agency

Federal Troops Used As Miners Defy Strikebreaking "Seizure"

May 27—U. S. Army troops have been ordered out for strikebreaking duty against American workers.

As the 400,000 soft coal miners today resumed their bitter strike for health and safety conditions in defiance of Truman's "seizure" of the mines, an armored detachment of 150 soldiers from Camp Campbell moved into the Madisonville, Ky., mine fields to escort scabs and "protect" the nearby Pond River colliery.

For the first time since Roosevelt used troops to break the North American Aviation strike in 1941, the federal government and administration has employed armed forces against workers fighting for their rights. This is undoubtedly but the first contingent Truman intends to use in his efforts to force the militant miners back into the pits without satisfaction of their just demands against the profiteering mine owners.

Despite United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis' declaration of a two-week strike truce on May 10, large numbers of the wrathful miners had refused to abandon their traditional policy of "No contract, no work." Incensed by Truman's strikebreaking "seizure" of the mines, the rank and file strike movement spread rapidly last week prior to the railroad strike. More than 200,000 miners were already out, when the rail strike brought a virtual halt to mining operations.

Every form of government pressure and intimidation is being brought to bear against the valiant miners. Even the threat of armed force by the capitalist government has failed to cow them. Up and down the coal fields, the slogan is: "You can't mine coal with bayonets."

The soft coal miners are continuing to give a heroic example to all American labor by their unparalleled solidarity and fighting unity. Unless they are called upon to return to work by their leaders, it is unlikely that they will submit to government threats and force without the most bitter resistance.

Truman Leads Vicious Attack On Rail Unions

By Art Preis

After a two-day demonstration of their paralyzing power in the greatest transportation strike in history, the 293,000 members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen were ordered back to work by their leaders late Saturday afternoon. This order came shortly before a deadline set by President Truman in his strikebreaking ultimatum the night before.

For 48 hours, the engineers and trainmen, traditionally among the most conservative unionists in America, had defied Truman's "seizure" of the country's railroads under the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act.

There was no sign of a break in their ranks up to the very moment when A. F. Whitney and Alvanley Johnston, presidents respectively of the trainmen's and engineers' unions, under the concerted onslaught of the capitalist government and Big Business ordered a return to work on the terms fixed by Truman in conspiracy with the railway profiteers.

WORKERS BITTER

A tremendous wave of bitterness and wrath swept the striking railroad workers when word came of their leaders' submission to Truman's dictate. They were full of fight and were prepared for a show-down struggle.

From lodge meetings all over the country came immediate reports of boos and sharp resentment at announcement of the return-to-work order. As even the Big Business press admitted, "the members voiced mixed opinions, but the one that predominated was: 'Whitney says we're licked, but our turn will come.'" **(N. Y. Times,** May 26).

Never, in the whole history of American labor struggle, have workers fighting for their just demands been subjected to such savage attack by the agencies of capitalist rule.

The ferocious assault against

(Continued on Page 2)

Proposes Most Vicious Bill Ever Sought By President

Climaxing his savage strikebreaking offensive against American labor, President Truman on May 25 called on a special joint session of Congress to enact the most repressive legislation against the labor movement ever advocated by a head of the U. S. government.

The most drastic and harsh section of Truman's anti-strike proposal was his request for Congress "immediately to authorize the President to draft into the armed forces" all workers "who are on strike against the government."

This means that the President could break any strike by ordering a plant "seizure," calling the walkout a "strike against the government," and then driving the workers back to work under penalty of imprisonment for draft evasion or desertion. Once under Army command the workers could be subject to court-martial.

Continuation of a strike after seizure of struck facilities by the government and proclamation of a return-to-work deadline by the President, would subject workers to a $5,000 fine and a year's imprisonment. Workers could be summarily fired, and lose all seniority rights if ever rehired.

Not only striking workers, but "officials of labor organizations representing the employes" can be "inducted into the Army . . . at such time, in such manner . . ., and on such terms as may be prescribed by the President."

A section of Truman's bill is trickily worded to give the false impression that profits during government "seizure" would go to the government. This same section provides, however, for "fixing of just compensation to the owners . . . to the value the use of such properties would have had to their owners" while under government control.

The complete anti-labor character of the entire capitalist government was further shown when Democrats and Republicans joined in the House to enact Truman's bill by a majority of 306 to 13. This was the House whose election in November 1944 was hailed by union leaders as a "progressive victory."

Twin Cities Rail Strikers Show Militancy

BULLETIN

ST. PAUL, Minn., May 25—More than 600 men present at the afternoon strike meeting here today heard Vice-President Coyle of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen announce that the nationwide rail strike was over. Strikers were told that they were to go back to work on President Truman's terms of 18½c per hour and a one year moratorium on rules.

The announcement was greeted by boos. Angry and disappointed, groups of men stood around the hall, damning Truman. Both Whitney and Johnston were criticized for giving up the fight.

By C. Gustafsen
(Special To The Militant)

ST. PAUL, May 25—Unanimous defiance of President Truman's ultimatum to striking railroad workers marked strike meetings held in the Twin Cities this morning. Truman's threat to call out the army to run the railroads was branded as "the greatest strikebreaking speech in memory" by union officials here. Statements made by the President in his nationwide broadcast Friday were denounced as "unfounded in fact."

From every railroad terminal

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IN THE NEWS

Imperialism Spreads Its Beneficent Rays

"The Eastman Kodak Company made public yesterday its findings on long-range radioactivity effects of atomic bomb explosions. The findings, together with those of other observers, indicate that temporarily radioactive by-products of a single bomb spread over an area about the size of Australia." **(N. Y. Times, May 23.)**

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High Cost Of Dying

The Casket Manufacturers Association on May 22 demanded before the House Small Business Committee that price controls be lifted from burial caskets, advising the House committee that several large manufacturers of low-cost caskets have ceased operations, while others have stopped handling the lower-priced models.

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A Word To The Wise

New York City Park Commissioner Robert Moses, addressing the annual dinner of the National Institute of Social Sciences last week, warned publishers: "It is a pity that decent people must suffer because of the frustration of millionaire publishers of red, radical sheets, whose interest lies not in orderly progress, fanning the ashes of prejudice and inciting class against class. Presumably these publishers want to be on the winning side when the Great Revolution comes, forgetting that on that day theirs will be the first heads to roll in the gutter."

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Thumb Bums

"Bankers, brokers and sundry other business men found it propitious if not stylish to invade the transportation byway usually reserved for knights of the open road—hitch-hiking. Some bummed rides with truck drivers on ferries. Others simply got out on the edge of the road and worked their thumbs." **(N. Y. World-Telegram,** May 24, **on rail strike effects).**

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF SWP MEETS IN N. Y.

A thoroughgoing and fruitful examination of party-building problems was the center of discussion at the four-day meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, held in New York City early last week. Other important points on the agenda included the international situation, trade union problems, the question of unification and the party's internal relations.

The organizational report, made by Farrell Dobbs, editor of **The Militant,** gave both a picture of the party's steady growth in terms of recruiting and influence since its national convention in November 1944 and an indication of the problems resulting from this growth.

These problems, themselves a sign of the healthy condition of the party, revolved mainly around further recruiting, integration and training of revolutionary workers without previous political affiliation. The recent experiences of the party in this connection were subjected to analysis for the purpose of learning the lessons of the past period and indicating the road toward additional progress in the coming months. The discussion demonstrated that American Trotskyism is not only stronger today than ever before, but is steadily developing from a revolutionary propaganda group to a serious workers' party with firm roots among the masses and their organizations.

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY

Other aspects of Comrade Dobbs' report, reflecting the same trend, dealt with party educational work, publication and distribution of literature, finances, branch problems, the expansion of the party's activities during the past year. Preliminary plans were set forth for a great step forward in the party's electoral activity in a number of industrial areas.

A supplementary report by Charles Carsten, SWP veterans' director, presented a comprehensive picture of veterans' problems, organizations and perspectives.

GROWING CRISIS IN CP

The trade union reports and discussion were concerned primarily with the application of the party's policies in the great strike struggles that began after V-J Day. During this period, it was noted, both SWP recruitment figures among industrial workers and various union slogans had shown a growing receptivity among union militants toward the SWP's transitional program. Considerable attention was paid to the best possible means of extending and strengthening this influence and of further politicalizing the leftward-moving tendencies in the unions.

In the discussion of the organization and trade union reports, a number of speakers from different parts of the country confirmed the existence of a grow-

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SWP Calls For Labor's Aid To Halt Stalinist Hooliganism

NEW YORK, May 22—C. Thomas, Organizer of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, today issued an appeal to CIO, AFL and other trade unions, as well as to fraternal, civil liberties and other progressive organizations, calling upon them to aid in halting the vicious attacks by the Communist (Stalinist) Party upon freedom of the press in New York City.

In recent weeks, the letter states, on several occasions girl distributors of **The Militant** and of leaflets to members of the National Maritime Union were physically assaulted by known Stalinist officers and goons, who tore the papers from their hands.

"These attacks are by no means spontaneous or accidental," the letter states. "They are part of a nation-wide campaign publicly proclaimed and deliberately organized and directed by the leadership of the Communist Party designed to obstruct and prevent the distribution of **The Militant** before trade unions and working class organizations and to incite physical violence against the Trotskyists as well as against other opponents of the Communist Party."

The letter states that the Socialist Workers Party will not be intimidated by these "hooligan actions." In continuing this activity despite these assaults, it states, "we are protecting the rights of every section of the labor movement as well as our own."

The letter urges the trade unions and other organizations to send an observer to the National Maritime Union membership meeting in Manhattan Center on 34th St. and 8th Avenue on Monday, May 27 at 7 p.m., at which time **The Militant** will again be distributed. "The public opinion of all labor and progressive forces must be brought to bear to halt these attacks on freedom of press in New York."

Why Browder Embarked On His "Mission To Moscow"

By Joseph Hansen

Why did Earl Browder go to Moscow? What is the purpose of his consultations with leading Kremlin officials? The capitalist press has been filled with speculation about his junket. The rank and file of the Communist (Stalinist) Party likewise are wondering what is behind Browder's trip.

Foster in an obvious attempt to dampen this speculation and to ease the profound crisis in the ranks of the Stalinists has offered his explanation of the trip. To believe Foster there was no mystery whatever about Browder's excursion. As Browder left the United States, Foster labelled him "Wall Street's Ambassador-At-Large." The State Department, acording to the May 14 **New Masses,** granted Browder a passport " as an acolyte of big business, serving its reactionary ends."

STALINISTS DISTURBED

Precisely how Browder's visit to Moscow could accomplish anything for America's ruling 60 families was a riddle the Stalinist hacks scrupulously avoided probing into. It is true they claimed Browder's airplane flight had "opened the sluice-gates for new anti-Soviet insinuations," particularly that the "American Communist 'line' " is a "product of manipulations by Soviet leaders."

But no one takes these complaints seriously. It has never been a secret that the line followed by Browder, Foster and the rest, is determined in the Kremlin. Moreover, the "sluice-gates" of "insinuations" could have been kept locked simply by the refusal of the Kremlin to grant Browder a visa.

After the reports of Browder's interviews wtih outstanding officials of the Kremlin, the May 24 **Daily Worker** introduced a variation in its explanation. Now it appeared that Browder went to Moscow to establish "business relations with several Soviet publishing houses." Why Browder could not have arranged these "business relations" through Stalin's official representatives in the United States, the **Daily Worker** leaves completely unexplained.

For the rank and file members of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, Browder's trip raises some exceedingly disturbing questions. Foster's followers cannot help wondering: Will Earl Browder, denounced as the renegade who forced the party to collaborate with Wall Street during the war, now be rehabilitated and restored to leadership? Will the party once again revert to open, shameless support of Wall Street?

And Browder's followers, who believe their leader was unjustly made a scapegoat for a line that originated with Stalin himself cannot help asking themselves: Even if Browder is again made our leader, how did it happen that he was ousted and expelled? How did it happen that all the top leadership unanimously attacked him as a renegade after just as unanimously supporting his line during the war? How do these monstrous shifts in line and flip-flops in leadership occur?

KEY TO MYSTERY

The key to the mystery of Browder's trip lies in the mechanics of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

In the days of Lenin and Trotsky, the workers' state pursued a foreign policy of inspiring and aiding socialist revolutions in other countries. The principal channel of this policy was the Communist International. Although an autonomous organization, the ideas and methods of Lenin and Trotsky shaped its activities in other lands. The Bolsheviks of those heroic times considered the development of the socialist revolution in other countries and the defense of the Soviet Union as indivisible—two sides of the same task. Thus the official diplomatic service of the USSR served as an adjunct

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Truman Leads Ferocious Assault On Rail Workers

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the railroad workers, spearheaded by the government and whipped up by the unrestrained howlings of the kept press, even surpassed the attack on the striking soft-coal miners prior to their two-week truce anounced May 10.

The climax of the government's strikebreaking assault, and the threat which forced the leaders of the two striking unions to bow, was Truman's declaration in a radio address Friday night that if the strikers did not return to work by 5 p.m. Saturday he would order Federal troops to run the railroads. Thus Truman was prepared to emulate his Democratic and Republican predecessors in the White House who three times since 1877 have turned rifles and bayonets against railroad workers.

At the very moment when Whitney and Johnston were making their declaration of surrender, Truman was before a special joint session of Congress calling for "emergency" legislation which would permit him to draft strikers into the armed forces and force them to work under penalty of courts-martial. It also provided for firing, loss of seniority, and fines and imprisonment for strikers and union leaders in government-"seized" plants.

Within two hours, the House of Representatives had seized upon this most viciously anti-labor legislative proposal ever put forward by an American president and approved it by a majority of 306 to 13. The measure was delayed in the Senate only because the ultra-reactionary majority desired to make it "foolproof" by amendment and to tack it on to the notorious Case Anti-Strike Bill, which the Senate had previously given precedence on the floor.

GOVERNMENT SERVES WALL STREET

Throughout the entire current rail labor struggle, the government acted openly as the instrument of the railway corporations and the Wall Street financiers, headed by the J.P. Morgan interests, which control the country's rail transport. The anti-labor railway magnates simply sat back while the government, led by the Truman administration conducted a savage strikebreaking war on the rail workers. The latter had been driven to strike revolt for the first time in 24 years as a result of decades of cumulative blows that brought their conditions to an intolerable state.

Why did these traditionally conservative workers, bound by the most bureaucratic union structure and dominated by the most craft-ridden, ultra-conservative top leadership in the American labor movement, sweep aside all barriers and go out on strike?

Truman, in his Congressional speech, charged that the strike was the result of the "obstinate arrogance of two men," Whitney and Johnston. That these timid bureaucrats, whose entire record over decades is one of retreat and capitulation to the railway interests and government, were in any way responsible for the strike, is laughable.

On the contrary, these leaders were finally driven to strike action by the terrific pressure of the union ranks, whom the union tops could no longer hold in check. Whitney and Johnston were stating the literal truth in their last-minute plea before the strike on Thursday when they appealed to Truman to offer some terms which the ranks might find acceptable, declaring "we have told you many times that the present agitation among the men . . . is extremely serious and that their demands could not be abandoned."

Neither in his radio address nor in his speech to Congress did Truman voice the slightest sympathy for the just demands for changes in working rules which were the key issue of the strike. His entire attack was directed venomously at the workers. He did not even mention the railway corporations—nor did he give the slightest hint as to any responsibility for the strike on the part of the rail monopolists.

RAILWAY PROFITS

He did not tell, for instance, how the leading railroads had piled up three billion dollars in net profits during the four war years of 1941-45—an increase of 1,164 percent over their profits rake-off in 1936-39! He did not tell how the rail moguls had deliberately stalled negotiations in order to throw the issue into the lap of the government, because they knew the government would intervene on their behalf and exert its prestige and power to force the railroad workers to yield.

He did not tell how government officials during the strike had agreed to recommend not only an 18½ cent an hour wage increase, but certain rule changes which the unions had said would be an acceptable basis for settlement, and that these proposals were either not presented to the operators, or if they had been, the government officials had kept silent about the operators' refusal to accept them.

Instead, Truman maliciously insisted on the strikers accepting terms WORSE than those they had opposed by their strike action. The corporation-dominated "fact-finding" boards prior to the strike had recommended only a 16-cent increase, compared to the 18 and 18½ cents awarded in other industries after strikes, and only seven of the demanded 43 rule changes. Truman proposed an additional 2½ cents increase but NO CHANGES in the rules.

Whitney and Johnston had no choice but to denounce Truman's terms as even "less favorable" than those offered by the "fact-finding" boards. The union leaders finally offered to order a return to work on the basis of the original "fact-finding" offer — but Truman insisted that they accept his own worse terms.

These were the terms which the panicky and fearful Whitney and Johnston finally hastened to accept in a tearful statement to the strikers, proclaiming: "We confess that we lost our cause." They called off the strike "due to the pressure brought upon us by the President of the United States in his address last evening."

STRIKEBREAKING TRICK

The chief instrument for breaking the rail strike was the method developed by the late President Roosevelt and further perfected by Truman — government "seizures" under the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law. First, the corporations refuse to concede the just demands of the workers. Then, the federal administration "seizes" the plants involved. Finally, the workers are driven back to work on the grounds they cannot "strike against the government."

Truman followed this procedure in the rail strike, which was called after the "seizure" on May 19. "This is no longer a dispute between labor and management," he declared in his Congressional speech. "It has now become a strike against the government itself."

But all that changed in the "seizure" was that the rail owners and their agents were given a government label. As Ralph Ingersoll of **PM** put it: "The Government has NOT taken over the railways and made them the property of the people—and given the railwaymen at least civil service rights. The Government has put out a piece of paper, sent a man into the offices of the Railway Owners' Assn.—and left the railway owners still operating, still the bosses, still saying what they'd pay and how long their men had to work to get it. The deeds to the properties are still in the owners' vaults."

In short, these "seizures" are nothing but a strikebreaking device to wrap the monopolists in an American flag and protect their profits and privileges. Thus, immediately following the end of the strike, the ultra-conservative Republican **N. Y. Herald-Tribune**, May 26, wrote with smug satisfaction: "Now all that remains to be done is the issuance of an executive order turning the seized railroads back to their owners. The formality probably will be put off until Monday." The roads were actually returned on Sunday.

Combined with the overwhelming assault of the government, the Big Business press and the whole owning class, there was an additional factor which gravely weakened the power of the rail strikers to hold out. That factor was the criminal division existing among the 21 different unions representing the 1,500,000 organized railroad workers.

The leaderships of 19 of these unions, split along craft and jurisdictional lines and ready to stab each other in the back for narrow jurisdictional advantages, did not go along with the strike of the two operating unions. In the very middle of the strike, they publicly announced their acceptance of the terms against which the engineers and trainmen were fighting. This gave Truman the opportunity to praise their "example" and use it as another weapon against the strikers.

ROBERTSON'S TREACHERY

On top of this came the direct treachery of such rail union leaders as David B. Robertson, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, representing 120,000 members, including a claimed 40,000 engineers. Robertson ordered his membership, including the engineers, to aid the government in breaking the strike, wiring his locals to "get transportation moving." At the same time, he echoed the attacks of Truman on Whitney and Johnston, telling reporters "these are men grasping for power."

The whole course of the rail workers' struggle has underscored a profound lesson for all American labor—a lesson which the workers can ignore only at their greatest peril.

PLAYED BALL

For long years, the leaders of the rail unions have played ball with the capitalist government, lined themselves up with the capitalist politicians, diverted the struggles of the workers into the treacherous channels of government arbitration. They have served faithfully as the labor lieutenants of the capitalists and the hand-maidens of the Big-Business government.

They were neither willing nor capable of resisting the government to which they are tied by a thousand threads. They had no program — no political program—with which to fortify the rail workers in the type of struggle to which they were inevitably being impelled. They were totally helpless and unprepared to cope with the savage offensive which the capitalists, through their government apparatus, unleashed against the rail workers.

That offensive, for which the mine and rail strikes have served as a pretext, is now being directed against the entire labor movement. Congress is proceeding at the signal of Truman to speed legislation whose purpose and results would mean destruction of the right to strike, repression and ultimate crushing of the unions, and a system of forced labor under the shadow of bayonets.

DECISIVE LESSON

Never has the fusion of the capitalist government and the capitalist class been so nakedly revealed. Never has it been so clearly shown that the government is nothing but an executive committee for safeguarding the interests of the billionaire, monopolist ruling class.

That is the decisive lesson the workers must grasp if they are to successfully defend their own interests and halt the march of reaction in the great social crisis that impends. This government is the enemy of labor. It must be fought by labor's own independent political means, a genuine labor party freed of all ties with the capitalist political machines and agents. American labor must prepare not only for economic struggle, but also for a remorseless political struggle to raise labor and all the oppressed sections of American society to governmental power.

Steel Union Convention Backs Their Plea

Four members of the delegation of disabled veterans from the England General Hospital in Atlantic City seated on the platform of the recent CIO United Steelworkers convention as their spokesmen, former unionists, pleaded for support in their fight to escape eviction from the hospital for amputees. They got a rousing reception. Big real estate and wealthy business interests have secured the aid of the War Department in ordering their removal from the health resort. The veteran on the left is a former steel worker and union member.

Railway Workers Still Forced To Fight For Eight-Hour Day

Most people would be astonished to learn what elementary demands the rail workers are forced to fight for in this year of 1946, after decades of union organization.

Operating workers in the rail industry do not have the eight-hour day. Their average workweek is between 60 and 80 hours! They get no time and a half for work under 10 hours a day. Many work entirely on straight time. They get no paid holidays, no sick leave, no premium pay for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work. There is no differential for night work.

They can be called out at any hour and forced to work any length of time. They must make long lay-overs away from home, without pay, and foot the entire cost of hotel and other expenses. Scarcely any previsions are made for their safety and comfort on the trains. They must pay for their own uniforms and watches, clean their uniforms and change to clean shirts at their own expense after every trip. Regularly they pay $5 for cleaning and adjustment of watches. These are but a sample of their grievances.

Under the conditions imposed on them by the government and operators since the passage of the Railway Labor Disputes Act in 1926, the rail workers have seen their wages decline from the second highest in 1933 to 27th, or bottom place, today.

In 1933, average rail wages were 66 cents an hour compared to only 45 cents in manufacturing industry. In 1945, rail wages averaged 99 cents — with some rates as low as 40 cents an hour —compared to $1.03 for all manufacturing industries. While passenger and freight loads have doubled since World War I, there are today 500,000 less rail workers forced to handle this doubled load under conditions of excruciating speed-up, no-limit hours, and decrepit, antiquated equipment. Truman's assertion that the railroad workers are among the highest paid in the country was an outright lie!

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Murray's Complaints About Congress

In his concluding speech at the recent CIO Steelworkers convention, Philip Murray, the union's president, complained that Congress "has not adopted a single piece of constructive legislation since the year 1937." For the last nine years, he said, "labor has been fighting with its back to the wall."

Without realizing it perhaps, Murray in these words voiced a terrible indictment against the traditional policies on political action pursued by himself and the rest of the present trade union leadership.

Since 1933, the Congress majority has been Democratic. In general, this majority was sustained through the influence of the late President Roosevelt. Every national election, the union leaders told the workers to go out and vote for "friends of labor" from the Democratic Party.

Now we have the admission from Murray that the results of this policy of supporting capitalist "friends of labor" through five national elections has been to maintain a Congress that has done not one thing for labor in nine years — and done everything possible for Big Business.

Murray again proposes campaigning for "substantial, progressive, liberal-minded officers in the elections coming up this year" — so long as they are Democrats or Republicans. Against this bankrupt policy, the trade union militants must counterpose effective labor political action — the formation of a genuine independent labor party which will fight to put real labor candidates in Congress.

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Big Ford Local 600 Backs Miners' Fight

CIO United Auto Workers Local 600, representing 65,000 workers in the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant, on May 19 issued a resolution through its executive board calling for support of the coal miners and their wage and welfare demands.

The resolution states that "the real issues of the coal strike are being obscured by the press of the country — namely, that coal miners need a wage increase, health security and that all labor must support them." It calls on the government "to make the coal operators grant a health and welfare fund to the miners."

This pledge of solidarity, which undoubtedly reflects the sentiments of all the auto workers, should be emulated by every section of the CIO. The unprecedently savage drive of Big Business and the government against the miners and rail workers is aimed in reality against the entire labor movement.

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CIO Organizing Atom-Bomb Plant

The great atom bomb plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, "is now the first major concentration point in the CIO's southern organizing campaign," reports the May **CIO News**.

"A corps of CIO organizers, veterans of both World War II and other CIO organizing drives are already in the city," the **CIO News** reveals. There are 40,000 workers in the massive plants. These workers, who produced the most destructive weapon of all time, work under abominable conditions. They are fired without cause and without regard to seniority. Wage rates vary from worker to worker, from 72 cents to $1.02 an hour for those in the same building doing the same work.

When World War II ended, says **CIO News**, "it also became apparent to the workers that their rights within the giant plants were being reduced almost as swiftly as the atomic bomb had reduced the two Japanese cities."

TWIN CITIES RAIL STRIKERS DEMONSTRATE FIGHTING SPIRIT

(Continued from Page 1)

in the northwest, telegrams poured into the strike meeting here this morning, reporting the solidarity of railroad workers throughout the area. Hostility to Truman's attack on their leaders and to the radio and newspaper commentators who have been using every trick of their trade to distort news of the strike, prevailed among strikers today.

In a telegram to Truman, union members in both the Twin Cities asked the President: "Are you not . . . convinced that railroad management has, throughout all of the negotiations refused to cooperate with the Brotherhoods, and is now seeking to destroy these organizations? . . . The American people should know that the Presidents of these two organizations (the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers) only represent the wishes and the righteous demands of the rank and file of workers . . . if railroad management and those in control of railroad finance had shown an honest desire to prevent this great catastrophe the situation now confronting this nation would never have occurred."

The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, representing 35,000 AFL members, denounced President Truman Friday night, shortly after his nationwide broadcast. Charges of "strikebreaking" and warnings that "this is our fight too" were heard throughout the debate. A telegram sent by the assembled workers to the President stated that they "immediately went on record disapproving the position taken by you, particularly that part where you referred to the use of troops to operate the railroads." The message also termed "unfair" Truman's failure to mention that the demands for rules changes are the major issue in the strike.

The membership of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is composed of the overwhelming majority of all train and yard service employees, such as brakemen, switchmen, switch tenders, dining car stewards, conductors and yardmasters. Other operating employes who are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Switchmen's Union of North America, the Order of Railroad Conductors, and the Yardmasters Association, are also backing the strike, despite the fact that their organizations have not given it official support.

Regular strike meetings are held twice daily in St. Paul, as in other railroad centers all over the country. All lodges of the two striking unions are meeting jointly in an unprecedented demonstration of cooperation. Members of the unions not officially on strike are also in regular attendance at the strike meetings. A new spirit of enthusiasm and confidence is apparent among the strikers who have at last utilized their economic strength to improve working conditions that have remained unchanged for nearly 30 years.

Even the capitalist press was forced to recognize the effectiveness of the strike. Friday morning a St. Paul **Pioneer Press** editorial confessed: "The government of the United States yesterday found itself in the humiliating position of being the operator of the nation's railroads and not being able to operate them."

Railroad Labor Struggles Of The Past

By Larissa Reed

The history of the struggles of American railroad workers, which includes four major strikes in the past 69 years, is an unbroken record of savage, strikebreaking intervention by the capitalist government acting in the interests of the powerful railroad magnates. Presidents come and go, but the scab-herding, strikebreaking activities of these White House servants of Wall Street, Republican and Democratic alike, remain the same.

The first railroad strike in American history was precipitated in 1877, when the Baltimore & Ohio, followed by the Pennsylvania, Erie and N. Y. Central Railroads, slashed the wages of the railroad workers by 10 per cent. This was during the great depression of 1873-1880, while unemployment was rampant and wages already had been cut almost one-half.

Backing up the governor of West Virginia who immediately dispatched state troopers to shoot down the striking workers, Republican President Hayes in Washington ordered out 20,000 armed federal troops and incited them to open warfare. Scores of workers in many railroad centers were shot dead, and many more injured. Before the strike was crushed it had spread as far as the Pacific Coast.

This first strike was a spontaneous movement, lacking organization or leadership. After it was crushed by the armed might of the Federal government, the workers were forced to return to their jobs at reduced pay. Pledges were extorted from many of them that they would not join unions or fight for the 8-hour day.

TROOPS TRAINED

But the great militancy and fighting spirit of the workers frightened the railroad kings. From that time on there began the erection of great armories in large industrial cities. The War Department began to publish manuals and other tracts designed to teach American soldiers how to conduct armed warfare upon the American working class.

In the second great strike of 1894, it was Democratic President Cleveland who this time rushed federal troops to Chicago and other points to shoot down the striking railroad workers. The strike broke out during a struggle against George M. Pullman who, during another depression year, cut wages from 30 to 40 per cent, and fired one-third of his employes.

This was a strike of a different character. The year before, 150,000 railroad workers had been organized into the American Railway Union by Eugene V. Debs, who later became the great Socialist fighter against the first imperialist world war. Twenty-four railroads were tied up when the union ordered a boycott of Pullman cars on all lines. After Pullman fired the boycotters, every union affiliated with the ARU struck.

President Cleveland turned Chicago and the other centers into armed camps with 10,000 soldiers of the infantry, cavalry, and even field artillery. The enraged workers replied to the capitalist government's armed warfare upon them by wrecking and burning some 2,000 railroad cars. The heroic Debs, who led the struggle and defied the capitalist court's injunctions, was arrested together with other ARU leaders.

TRADITION OF DEBS

Although this strike too was broken by the armed might of the government, Debs created a tradition of militant struggle which has inspired railroad workers ever since. His was the first break with the craft-union bureaucrats whose timid policies played into the hands of the railroad owners and the Wall Street government. Debs raised the class solidarity of the workers to a new, high level.

The third great railroad strike, which broke out in 1922, began maturing in 1916 but was interrupted by the first world war. The Railroad Brotherhoods demanded the 8-hour day and wage raises to meet the skyrocketing cost of living. When the railroad owners refused, President Wilson intervened, and in order to prevent a strike, was forced to grant the 8-hour day. But no wage raises were granted until almost two years later in 1918.

Using the pretext of the war, the U. S. Government then took over and operated all the major railroads under a Director General. Shortly after the war, in February 1920 a vicious bill was passed creating the U. S. Railroad Labor Board, which from that day on served to shackle the railroad workers with the aid of "impartial" government mediators.

In 1921 the Railway Labor Board granted the railroad magnates permission to slash wages, in the main of the lowest paid workers. By this one act, almost a billion dollars was added to the huge war profits of the railroad owners.

The railroad workers rebelled. On July 1, 1922, half a million railway shopmen in six brotherhoods joined together for a strike. This time it was Republican President Harding who sent federal troops to break the strike. Martial law was declared in almost every important railroad center. On September 1, the Department of Justice slapped a federal injunction upon the workers, one of the most crippling blows ever dealt a labor union.

Union funds were seized and tied up, in the name of preserving the open shop. In five states the authorities mobilized the National Guard from the big armories built for that purpose. They opened the railroad shops and protected the strikebreakers with drawn guns. During the three months of this great strike, the railroad corporations spent close to $20-million to break it.

WORKERS BLACKLISTED

Once again the armed might of the federal government prevailed and the strike was broken. The wage cuts were instituted. Many strikebreakers kept the places of the workers. The shopmen lost their seniority rights. Their unions were almost completely exterminated. Many were blacklisted from the railroads forever.

In 1926, the Railroad Labor Act was adopted. This established virtual compulsory arbitration in the railroad industry through a lengthy procedure for government intervention in rail labor disputes and limitations on the right to strike. Under this act, the conditions of the railway workers declined steadily in the past 20 years.

In the three great earlier strike struggles of the railroad workers against their exploiters, three Presidents, both Democratic and Republican alike have called out the troops to break their strikes.

Now in 1946 President Truman has threatened to call out troops and follow in the footsteps of his White House predecessors. This political servant of Wall Street has also revealed himself to be the enemy of the railroad workers and all labor.

How Reaction Facilitated Stalin's Rise To Power

By John G. Wright

This is a third in a series of articles in connection with the publication of Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin.

This book shows how the personality of the incumbent dictator in the Kremlin was molded through the years and what were the outstanding personal traits that fitted him for this future role. At the same time the author discloses the nature of those social forces inside the Soviet Union that swept Stalin into power after Lenin's death, along with the workings of the mechanism whereby Stalin was able step by step to usurp the right to such an exceptional role.

According to official legend, elaborately manufactured in the course of more than two decades by a legion of hirelings, lick-spittles and falsifiers, Stalin is pictured as Lenin's closest and most trusted collaborator, as the latter's "best disciple" and co-builder of the Russian Bolshevik Party, as a heroic figure in the Civil War of 1919-21, invariably and unfailingly at Lenin's side, as the originator of planned economy, etc. etc. The truth is just the reverse.

STALIN

REAL ROLE

Stalin's real role and character clearly emerge in this book. By painstakingly tracing the career of the future dictator from his birth in 1879 to the year 1923, when he first began to emerge from the shadows, Trotsky does not leave a single stone standing of this official vast edifice of distortions, lies and brazen forgeries.

It is noteworthy that not even the most hostile critics of the book have been able or willing to challenge a single item in the rich factual material presented by the author. This biography is documented with scrupulous objectivity and conscientiousness, despite the fact that it deals with a period in Stalin's life concerning which least has been known and strictest secrecy enforced for years.

As an orthodox Marxist and its most authoritative and brilliant exponent since Lenin's death, Trotsky seeks for an explanation of Stalin's role primarily in the mechanics of the class struggle. Prominent individuals in history are in the final analysis, social symbols—personifications of specific class forces.

What made Stalin an ideal mirror of the monstrous bureaucracy that rose in the USSR in the period of reaction following the October Revolution, are precisely his outstanding and most deeply rooted personal traits, namely: "distrust of the masses, utter lack of imagination, short-sightedness, an inclination to follow the line of least resistance."

So organic in this individual is his lust for power coupled with his indifference towards the oppressed—which later turned into suspicion and distrust, and still later into animal fear — that his very act of joining the revolutionary movement was motivated exclusively by such negative reactions as envy and hatred of the rulers.

Genuine revolutionists, while remaining mortal enemies of the oppressors, are cast in an entirely different mold. They are imbued with deepest sensitivity for and love of the masses, incarnating their courage, their unyielding will to struggle, their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, their age-long aspirations and hopes.

'FLESH OF THE MACHINE'

Stalin's personal qualities made him an ideal cog in a complex political machine. He became, as Trotsky put it, "flesh of the flesh of the machine and the toughest of its bones." In the periods of most turbulent mass upsurge he could think and react in no other terms. Thus one of the earliest agitational appeals written by Stalin to the insurgent masses in the 1905 period centers around a summons for them to rally not around their mass organization but around the "committeemen."

The role of such an individual is the smaller as all the greater becomes the sweep of the mass movement. This is precisely what happened in Stalin's case, and Trotsky demonstrates it irrefutably. The same qualities that facilitated Stalin's rise on the rungs of the machine-ladder, especially in the period following the October Revolution, pushed him to the background in periods of mass upsurge in 1905, 1912 and 1917, the revolutionary peaks of Russian history.

At each of these historical turning points we find Stalin withdrawing into the shadows, vacillating, incapable of adhering to a revolutionary line, let alone assuming the initiative in advancing it. An opportunist to the core, he exhibits this most glaringly immediately following the February 1917 revolution when we find him among those preaching conciliation with the Mensheviks and urging support of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government.

LAW OF POLITICS

Conversely it was precisely in these periods of great mass upsurge that individuals like Lenin and Trotsky were propelled most sharply to the fore. While Stalin in 1905 was explaining the virtues of "committeemen" to the Georgian people, the youthful Trotsky played a foremost role in the activities of the Petrograd Soviet, becoming its Chairman during the concluding stages of the Soviet's revolutionary existence. Trotsky resumed this role in 1917, taking his place side by side with Lenin, as the leader of the October insurrection in Petrograd, and later as organizer-leader of the Red Army and co-architect with Lenin of the young Soviet state and the Communist International.

In the course of his detailed exposition Trotsky demonstrates what may be called one of the laws of politics, namely, that with the weakening of the mass movement the preponderance of political machines increases almost in reverse proportions, and with it, of necessity, the role played by apparatus men, in the given case, by Djugashvili-Stalin.

"Stalin" is invaluable among other things because it brings a clearer understanding of the paths whereby reaction was able to triumph in the Soviet Union; of how stage by stage the machine, under the leadership of Stalin succeeded first in isolating the revolutionary proletarian vanguard inside the USSR and then in destroying the great party of Lenin. The reader is thus enabled to grasp more easily all of the Kremlin's subsequent and current crimes and betrayals of the world struggle for socialism.

French Trotskyists Launch Inspiring Election Campaign

First Issue Of German Trotskyist Paper

Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch!

NEUER SPARTAKUS

ORGAN DER GRUPPE «NEUER SPARTAKUS» (IV. INTERNATIONALE)

Nr. 1 März 1946

Warum «NEUER SPARTAKUS»?

The first issue of "Neuer Spartakus" (New Spartacus) just received by "The Militant." This revolutionary paper is the organ of the German Trotskyists, organized in the "Neuer Spartakus" group (Fourth International). In the lead article "Neuer Spartakus" declares it stands on the "revolutionary tradition of the German and international working class movement: the theory of scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, the example of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and the Bolshevik method of Lenin and Trotsky." The next issue of "The Militant" will review this important new paper of the German working class.

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, France, May 16—One of the most important election campaigns in the history of the Trotskyist movement has been launched by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French Section of the Fourth International. The PCI will run 80 candidates in 12 areas in the June 2 election. About 4,500,000 voters reside in these areas, most of them workers or peasants with a revolutionary tradition.

Despite the excessively high election fee of 20,000 francs required for each candidate, the PCI managed to collect the 1,600,000 francs.

In each area, the PCI plans to post three different issues of placards and distribute two election addresses. The total number of pieces of election literature, including leaflets, addresses and placards will run well above 15,000,000. Party representatives will broadcast on the Paris, Bordeaux, Britanny, Lyon and Grenoble regional radio stations. Permission to speak over the national radio has been refused on the excuse that the minimum requirement of candidates in 20 areas has not been met. The PCI is vigorously protesting this undemocratic measure.

MASS MEETING

The election campaign got under way with the most successful mass meeting yet held in Paris by the French Trotskyists. Some 2,000 workers jammed the hall. Comrades Pierre Frank, Beaufrere, Demaziere, Bouselle and Garnier outlined the program and election policy of the PCI. The gathering's approval of the PCI platform was demonstrated by the enthusiastic applause that punctuated all the speeches. The workers contributed 15,000 francs to help defray campaign expenses.

Comrade Pierre Frank, one of the principal speakers, outlined the political situation in France, exposing the treacherous coalition of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats with the capitalists. "The bold election campaign of the PCI is of national and international significance," he declared. "Break the coalition! Force the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to take power on a workers' program!"

Comrade Bouselle dealt with the program of demands of the PCI. "Workers' conditions are still deteriorating," he pointed out. "Food is becoming scarcer while prices are far above the reach of the workers. Wages were frozen at a level well below the minimum requirements."

To meet this situation, Comrade Bouselle continued, the PCI demands: Unfreeze the wages; for a rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living; against the piece-work system introduced by the Stalinist Minister Croizat.

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

Comrade Bouselle called for the organization of consumers' councils composed of small farmers, shop-keepers and housewives to control the distribution of food. He demanded a national plan of production formulated by the trade unions. The PCI, he explained, stands for workers' control of prices, for nationalization of all heavy industry without compensation and under workers' control.

In a rousing speech, Comrade Beaufrere called upon the workers to support the PCI candidates. He described how the PCI has stood in the forefront of the workers' struggles; how the PCI has fought against the reactionary intervention of French imperialism in Indo-China and North Africa, and for the unconditional freedom of the colonies. He recounted how the French Trotskyists, despite torture and imprisonment under the Nazi occupation, heroically continued their revolutionary activity.

Leading candidates in some of the areas where the PCI will campaign are:

Seine (1) **Marcel Beaufrere,** member of the Political Bureau of the PCI, deportee to Buchenwald Concentration Camp. **Albert Demaziere,** member of the Political Bureau of the PCI, arrested by the Gestapo in 1942.

Seine (3): **M. Favre-Bleibtreu,** general secretary of the PCI.

Seine (5): **Pierre Frank,** member of the Political Bureau of the PCI, sentenced to six years imprisonment in 1939 for opposition to imperialist war, interned by British imperialism during the war.

Finistere: **Alain Le-Demas,** leather worker, member of the Political Bureau of the PCI.

Isere: **Laurent Schwartz,** professor of mathematics, member of Central Committee of the PCI.

Gironde: **Madeleine Forcade,** shop assistant.

Puy de Dome: **Gerard Bloch,** member of the Central Committee of the PCI, deported by the Nazis.

Marne: **R. Chermy,** professor,

Savoie: **Paul Parisot,** journalist, member of the Central Committee of the PCI.

Real Meaning Of May 5 Referendum In France

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, France, May 11—The proposed new capitalist constitution submitted to the electorate by the French government, after being drawn up and endorsed by the Socialist and Communist parties, was rejected by a vote of approximately 10,450,000 to 9,280,000 in the May 5 national referendum. This result was unexpected by both the advocates and opponents of the proposed constitution. Analysts of French politics had all predicted a slight majority of yes votes.

WORKERS' VOTE DROPS

A study of the referendum indicates the reason for this vote as well as the upset in predictions. The experts had assumed that since the Socialist and Communist (Stalinist) parties had broken with the capitalist parties on the issue of the constitution and sponsored a yes vote, the working masses would consider it a class issue. The reality proved this estimate to be wrong.

In the industrial Nord, Somme, Pas-de-Calais and Seine departments (including Paris), for instance, the vote for the constitution dropped more than 2,000,000 as against that cast for the two parties combined at the October 1945 elections.

Even among the poor peasantry, where the Stalinists enjoyed considerable support last October, a drop was registered. In the Cantal, Var and Morbinan departments, the yes vote was 21,028—about 29 per cent below that received by the two parties last fall.

It was the abstention, if not the direct opposition, of a considerable section of the lowest strata of the population that defeated the constitution last Sunday.

The reaction of these workers and peasants was a blow at the wage-freezing, "production-first" policy of the coalition government in which the reformists and Stalinists constitute the majority.

CP-SP REACTION

Support of the thoroughly capitalist constitution could scarcely inspire the masses with revolutionary optimism. These voters observed at the same time that the government coalition remained intact despite the differences between the capitalist parties and the Socialists-Stalinists over the constitution. Thus the bout over the referendum appeared like shadow boxing. The masses are concerned about their own misery and hunger for which the constitution held out no solution.

The reaction of the Socialist and Stalinist parties to the referendum indicates they have no other perspective than continuation of their treacherous political line of collaboration with the capitalists. The reformists heaved a sigh of relief over the break in the tightening embrace of the Stalinists. The Stalinists, however, are not turning toward a joint CP-SP government. In fact, Stalinist chieftain Thorez is already proclaiming the alleged need now for the "unity of all Frenchmen."

As for the capitalist parties, despite their apparent victory, they are none too anxious to struggle for sole government power against the Socialists and Stalinists. The margin of no votes was too slim. Moreover, they are aware of the profoundly militant mood among the masses. They too prefer a continuation of coalition politics.

The growing dissatisfaction among the masses is not likely to be halted, however. If on May 5 this dissatisfaction did not have a real outlet, the situation will be different when the new elections are held June 2.

COMING TEST

In these elections the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International) will run slates of its own candidates. The PCI program calls for the immediate unfreezing of wages, for the sliding scale of wages to meet rising living costs, for the nationalization of all big industry without compensation, for the control of all industry by workers' committees.

A substantial Trotskyist vote will clearly reveal what the masses expect of their political parties—an SP-CP-Trade Union government with an anti-capitalist program. What the referendum proved negatively the June elections will demonstrate positively.

Nazi Connections Of Big Business Bared In Paris

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

PARIS, France, May 11 — This week's **La Verite** carries a sensational exposure of secret deals between the Nazis and the great American trust Dupont de Nemours. Likewise involved in the foul scandal are the French trusts: Ugine, Pechiney, Francolor and Kuhlman. **La Verite** (Truth) is the organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Section of the Fourth International).

According to well-founded reports, records of the business deals with Hitler during the war were uncovered at Berlin-Templehof and brought to Paris.

MILITARY SECRETS

La Verite reveals that the complete files, listing the transactions, are guarded as a military secret by the American Military government at Cassel and Gresheim, Germany. Agents of firms involved, reports **La Verite,** have been commissioned as "Colonels" and "Lieutenant-Colonels" and charged with "keeping guard" over this damning evidence.

The French government, in which "socialists" and "communists" (Stalinists) participate as ministers, has not even demanded release of these records from the American authorities. Yet the main propaganda slogan of these servile bootlickers of the French capitalists is, "Break the unpatriotic trusts!"

Why Browder's Mission To Moscow?

(Continued from Page 1)

in furthering the revolutionary policies of the Communist International.

Under Stalin all this was changed. The relative roles of the two channels of foreign policy were reversed. The official diplomatic service superseded in importance the role of the Communist International. The various sections of this world-wide organization became no more than border patrols for the Kremlin. The policy of inspiring and aiding socialist revolutions in other lands was abandoned.

This process reached its culmination during the Second World War when, on May 22, 1943, Stalin dissolved the Communist International as part of his diplomatic appeasement of Anglo - American imperialism. Since that time the former sections of the Communist International have continued to function as instruments of Kremlin foreign policy but without the formality or pretense of being integral parts of a revolutionary international party of the working class.

As for the official diplomatic service it has degenerated to a level indistinguishable in its methods from the foulest secret diplomacy of rotting imperialism.

PREDICTED BY TROTSKYISTS

Stalin's foreign policy during the years has undergone remarkable shifts and turns. It is sufficient to cite the support of German imperialism during the Stalin-Hitler pact and the support of Anglo-American imperialism after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. To superficial observers these twists and reversals have come with stunning abruptness. But to the Trotskyists none of these turns have come as surprises. In fact the Trotskyists were able to predict them well in advance, including Stalin's pact with Hitler.

Invariably a major turn in the Kremlin's foreign policy has been preceded by certain preparatory steps. These preparatory steps serve as trial balloons and likewise tip off Stalin's seasoned agents to get ready for a new zig zag. Stalin prefers to make these shifts in piece-meal fashion in order to reduce the shock to the rank and file.

Thus during the Stalin-Hitler pact superficial observers thought a lasting marriage had been consummated. They were perhaps taken in by the diplomacy of Stalin's major channel of foreign policy, which in the famous words of Molotov, considered fascism a "matter of taste." Yet even during the hey-day of the pact, Stalin was preparing for a shift.

Down in Mexico, along the secondary channel of the Communist International, a perceptible cooling off toward German imperialism was observable. A few derogatory caricatures of Hitler were permitted in the Stalinist press, a few articles deviating from the line followed by the other sections. It is true that the actual shift away from Hitler came much sooner than Stalin had counted upon; but this was because he lost the initiative to Hitler and was taken by surprise.

Again during the balmiest days of the Big Three love feast, when official Kremlin policy was still giving the world Teheran and toasting Anglo - American imperialism, one of the sections of the Stalinist international ran up a warning signal. This was the famous article by Jacques Duclos, criticizing the policy followed by Earl Browder. Since the policy faithfully followed by Browder throughout the war had been the official policy of the Kremlin, Duclos' article could mean only one thing, preparation for a shift in the Kremlin's foreign policy. And such it proved.

STUDIED CALCULATION

Now consider Browder's trip to Moscow. If ever a Stalinist political move bore the earmarks of studied calculation this one does. It is not easy to get into the Soviet union. In fact even such a minor agent of Wall Street imperialism as a humble reporter of the **N. Y. Times** must wait as much as six months or longer before the Kremlin foreign office grants him a visa. How much more cautious could we expect the Kremlin foreign office to be in the case of a "deserter from Communism," a "renegade and traitor" who "continuously scorned and violated all Party principles, discipline and decisions," a "social imperialist" "branded" and expelled as "an enemy of the party and working class." Yet this perfidious enemy of the working class whose name has become synonymous with the policy of collaboration with Wall Street was granted instant entry into the Soviet Union!

But this was not all. On arriving at Moscow he was quartered in a luxurious suite in the Moscow Hotel "where official delegations from abroad normally stay." And still more significant, upon the return of Foreign Minister Molotov from his conference in Paris with Byrnes, Browder was ostentatiously granted an interview.

To make unmistakable the significance of Browder's presence in Moscow, Losovsky, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, likewise saw Browder. The choice of the two topmost officials in Foreign Affairs as the ones to talk with Browder is of course deliberate. Even Browder's words in the context of these interviews underline what is involved for everything he says is not only uttered in accordance with the Kremlin's wishes, but the dispatches are carefully censored and approved by the Soviet Information Bureau which is likewise headed by Lozovsky.

"I am very much pleased," said Browder on May 23, "with the attitude toward me. I have been received like an old, known and trusted friend of the Soviet Union." This dispatch, after censorship by the Kremlin, continued with the comment that Browder was "in a conspicuously amiable mood."

The political implications of Browder's visit to Moscow are thus already clear.

Throughout the war the rank and file Stalinists smarted under the necessity of acting as finks and strikebreakers, of putting the finger on militants who sought to better the wages and working conditions of the working class. They burned with shame over the dirty task of supporting Wall Street's imperialist war aims.

SUSPICION JUSTIFIED

These honest rank and file Stalinists greeted the discarding of Browder and the turn to the left with relief. To them it seemed to indicate a turn toward genuine militancy, a turn toward revolutionary Marxism. Small wonder they are worried over Browder's mission to Moscow. They cannot help asking themselves, has Stalin taken this means to indicate that Wall Street is not to take the "left" turn too seriously? To indicate that if certain conditions are met the Kremlin is prepared in return to make a shift in foreign policy toward the line exemplified by Earl Browder?

And these rank and file Stalinists are thoroughly justified in their suspicion. There can be no other reason for the Kremlin taking Browder off the shelf and beginning to refurbish his badly tarnished reputation.

Viet Nam Delegates Greeted By Huge Crowd At Marseilles

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

MARSEILLES, France, May 4—About 4,000 Indo-Chinese workers and soldiers gathered in a rousing demonstration here today to welcome the Viet Nam parliamentary delegation which is in France for negotiations with the Guoin government. Flying the Viet Nam national flag, an autocade of Indo-Chinese soldiers received the delegation headed by Phan Van Dong at the St. Charles station. Amid cheers they escorted the group to Camp Viet Nam in the Mazarguis suburb of Marseilles.

At the camp the thousands of workers and soldiers packed the square for three hours of festivities and speeches. After the gathering had sung the national anthem of the Viet Nam, a representative of the Camp's delegates' council made the official welcoming address.

Another council member then made a report on the situation of the workers during the six years of war. A third speaker, who reported on the conditions of the soldiers during the same period, told of the mistreatment they had received from the French authorities.

Delegation chairman Phan Van Dong replied in the name of the Viet Nam government. He recounted the story of the revolution, told about the setting up of the republic, the struggle against the French expeditionary force, and the truce signed with the French on March 6.

The demonstrators carried banners inscribed "Down with Cochin-China Separatism" (the French are attempting to set up a separate republic in Cochin-China, the southern part of the Viet Nam Republic, an area likewise inhabited by the Indo-Chinese); "The 'French Union' Is Imperialism" (the reference here is to the new name given to the Empire by the French government); "Long Live the Viet Nam Revolution," "Down with the Traitors," "Full Support to Viet Nam Resistance," "Complete Independence for Viet Nam," "Long Live Ho-chin-Minh" (President of the Viet Nam Republic).

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Krèmlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

The Road Labor Must Follow

(Continued from Page 1)

ileges have been challenged by the workers. Their profits are endangered. The masters of America want to demonstrate that they remain boss, not only in industry, but in the government as well.

The capitalist rulers are determined to halt any further advances by labor. They want to put this aroused giant back into chains, to rob labor of its rights and gains, to cripple the unions and curb their striking power. They aim to isolate and smash the unions, clearing the way for a return to the open shop.

The government at Washington is the spearhead of the Big Business drive. Truman's speeches of the past week were declarations of war upon the labor movement. His strikebreaking seizures of the mines and railroads, his preparations to use Federal troops to run the trains, his demands upon Congress for labor conscription and for the most vicious anti-strike legislation are direct and brutal acts of class war against the workers.

Truman continues to boast that he is "a friend of labor." But is there a worker who cannot now see that Truman is an out-and-out strikebreaker, a tool in the hands of Wall Street?

Up to now, Truman, like Roosevelt, relied mainly upon deceit to cheat the workers out of their just demands. He exploited the illusions of many workers about the government's impartiality and even friendliness toward labor in an effort to resolve labor-capital conflicts. But this is a policy of the past.

The Mailed Fist

Wall Street refuses to give any more concessions to labor. Prodded by Big Business, Truman has taken off his kid gloves and wielded the mailed fist. His administration is replacing deceit by compulsion. That is the meaning of Truman's anti-labor actions in the past weeks.

The advanced workers must understand, and explain to all their fellow workers, that the capitalist rulers have declared war to the death upon the unions. They are using all their instruments of propaganda to inflame the middle classes aganist the unions, to delude them into believing that labor, and not the wars and anarchy of capitalism are responsible for their sufferings.

U. S. capitalism has launched upon the road of reaction that leads toward fascism and World War III, toward the destruction of the labor organizations and the liberties of the people, toward the degradation of their living standards. Along this road they are prepared to use troops, to enact the most restrictive legislation, to strike blow upon blow at the labor movement. The rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, the activities of Gerald L. K. Smith, the government attempts to mobilize ex-servicemen as scabs, show where American capitalism is heading.

Under these conditions, how stupid, blind and criminal it is for union leaders to talk and act as though nothing else were involved but their conomic demands. These demands are important. They must be fought for and won. But far more is at stake.

The strike struggles, which have swept over the entire country like a flood and set into motion even the most backward sections of labor, transcend the normal limits of a purely economic movement. They constitute an upsurge of the entire working class in combat against the exploiters.

Social And Political Crisis

This strike wave has produced a social and political crisis of the first magnitude. The cumulative effect, the colossal impact of these strikes have gone beyond the intentions of its leaders or participants. They have inevitably posed the fundamental problems of our society. Who is going to control the economy, who is going to rule the country—the monopolists or the workers?

This is the essence of the present critical situation. Its full implications must be understood by every advanced worker. For the future of the entire labor movement depends upon it.

This vast strike movement has stirred labor to new life. It has raised the self-assurance of the masses and created a broad staff of rank-and-file leaders in the industries and in the factories. These are great gains which will make themselves felt in the struggles ahead.

At the same time the strikes have uncovered grave weaknesses within the labor movement. First of all, they have disclosed the total bankruptcy of the policies and outlook of the official union leaderships in the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods.

With but few exceptions, these top union leaders failed to prepare and organize their forces for all-out struggle against the employers. They feared strike action. In accord with their conservative and bureaucratic mentalities, they hoped to gain their demands, or a satisfactory compromise, by appealing to the "reason" of the corporations or by relying upon governmental intervention and pressure. They were all supporters in one degree or another of the Truman administration which they depicted as sympathetic to labor.

Moreover, out of timidity or narrow bureaucratic interests, these leaders deliberately abstained from consolidating their efforts and coordinating their common struggles against Big Business. Each big union negotiated and fought on its own, apart from the others.

This culminated last week in the shameful performance of the officials of 19 railroad brotherhoods. They not only held back from joining the strike action of the engineers and trainmen, but some even ordered their members to operate strike-bound trains. This disunity, imposed from above by the union bureaucrats, immensely aided the strikebreaking activities of the government and the corporations and has seriously weakened labor's fighting power.

These union heads completely fail to grasp the real nature of the struggle. They have neither an economic nor a political program capable of solving the vital problems confronting American labor.

It is already obvious that the wage gains made by the CIO unions through strenuous and protracted struggle are being rapidly eaten away by the soaring cost of living. None of the top union leaders know how to cope with this problem. Murray has even promised not to reopen ngeotiations for higher wages until after the present steel contract terminates next February. Meanwhile prices keep rising, and the workers find their living standards sinking lower and lower.

Yet there exists a simple and effective answer to this problem. The unions must fight for the inclusion in all contracts of a clause providing for a SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET THE RISING COST OF LIVING. Under these conditions wages would not remain fixed and frozen while prices soared. Wherever and whenever the unions would find that prices had risen, they would be entitled under the terms of the contract to demand and receive from the employers a proportionate raise in wages. There is no other way that the workers can defend their wage levels against the growing menace of inflation.

The limitations of the union officialdom stand out most sharply in their ruinous political policies. For decades they have been complete captives of the Democratic and Republican parties of Wall Street. They called upon the workers to vote for congressmen of these parties who now almost unanimously support the most savage legislation against organized labor. They preached confidence, first in Roosevelt, then in Truman, as "friends of labor" when these Presidents have acted in reality as masked enemies of labor and governmental agents of the corporations.

They have opposed and fought every attempt by union progressives to free the unions from their enslavement to the political machines of Big Business and organize an independent party of labor.

Now, in the face of this greatest crisis in the history of American labor, when the unions must fight for their very existence against the attacks of the employers and their government, they again show that they have learned nothing. They are obviously ready to continue and repeat the fatal policies which have disarmed the workers in the presence of their enemies.

For example, the angry rail union leaders now threaten to expend millions of union funds to "defeat Truman," the very man they helped elect. And whom do they intend to support in his place? Another Democratic or Republican capitalist "friend of labor!"

Program Needed

What then is to be done?

If the American workers are to beat back the Big Business-government offensive and avoid the terrible fate inflicted upon the German and Italian workers by capitalist-fascist reaction and the cowardice of their own leaders, they must be forewarned and rearmed. They need a clear picture of the issues at stake. They need to get rid of their fossilized leaders and repudiate their bankrupt policies. They need a fresh leadership from the ranks, composed of the best fighters who have shown their mettle in the recent strike struggles.

Above all, they need a new social and political program and a clear goal. In addition to their powerful economic movement, they must build a broad social and political movement which can overthrow the ruinous rule of Big Business and defend the interests of the American people. The first step in this direction is the formation of an independent Labor Party, based on the trade unions, which can oppose the Democratic and Republican parties in the coming 1946 elections.

The present crisis bars any further progress along the old road. The labor movement must break with its past and march forward along a new road. The American workers must be mobilized for irreconcilable combat against the monopolists and their government servants. They must prepare themselves to become the leaders of the entire nation, the controllers of its economy, the reorganizers of its life in the interests of the whole people.

"Why don't they just phone?"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, monthly organ of the American Trotskyists; June, 1946. Single copies 25c, yearly subscription, $2. Fourth International Publishing Association, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Readers of **The Militant** have seen, in the May 11 issue, the Manifesto issued by the International Conference of the Fourth International which met in Belgium in April. Other major political documents and an account of the conference proceedings, appear in the June issue of **Fourth International**, now on sale.

This conference, held under extremely difficult conditions, proved anew the viability of the Trotskyist program of international revolutionary socialism. The Trotskyist movement had not only survived the war, but strengthened its ranks. Delegations from the principal European sections — France, England, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Ireland and Switzerland — and representatives from the Western Hemisphere and from colonial countries were present at the conference.

The fundamental program of the Fourth International was reaffirmed, and resolutions adopted which are of vital importance to the workers of the world. They provide the analysis which alone can guide the working class to the destruction of the infamous capitalist system with its criminal wars, famines, and repressions.

"The initial months of the period following the second imperialist world war," states the resolution on **The New Imperialist Peace and the Building of the Parties of the Fourth International**, "already clearly show that the profound changes brought about (by the war) have far from eliminated the difficulties and contradictions" convulsing capitalism. "There is no reason whatever to assume that we are facing a new epoch of capitalist stabilization and development.

"On the contrary, the war has acted only to aggravate the disproportion between the increased productivity of capitalist economy and the capacity of the world market to absorb it. The war has aggravated the disorganization of capitalist economy and has destroyed the last possibilities of a relatively stable equilibrium in social and international relations."

CONTRADICTIONS AGGRAVATED

Not even Wall Street, foremost victor in the world slaughter, can achieve stability on the wreckage of the world economy, the resolution points out. In fact, "The unlimited expansion of Yankee imperialism lies at the root of the prevailing disequilibrium and its further inevitable aggravation."

Attempting to consolidate its position as "principal manufacturer and banker of the capitalist world," American imperialism "has become the most conscious and formidable counter-revolutionary capitalist power and the main prop of political and social conservatism. The authoritarian and reactionary tendencies are taking shape and are being strengthened within the United States itself as well as in the rest of the world."

American workers who have just witnessed Truman's attempt to use troops against strikers, and who have read his demands that Congress forge new chains for the labor movement, will readily agree with the conference that "The ostensibly temporary anti-labor legislation enforced in the US during the war (anti-union and anti-strike laws, wage freeze), is tending to become entrenched as a permanent rule over the labor market."

FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES

Wall Street, however, faces formidable obstacles to its schemes, both at home and abroad.

"In the United States, reconversion which is accompanied by unemployment, by the reduction of workers' incomes due to the elimination of overtime, is unleashing the most powerful movement of workers' demands ever recorded in that country."

And abroad, "American pressure provokes more or less vigorous resistance from the other imperialisms and above all from British imperialism, impelling the latter to entrench themselves within autarchic blocs and to resume economic warfare.

"Moreover the struggle of the proletariat in the metropolitan centers, the national liberation movements of the colonial peoples, the USSR and the zone it controls, are additional factors thwarting the plans of the Yankee imperialists and contributing to the maturing of the crisis of American imperialism.

"Thus the world expansion of the United States offers it only in the abstract the advantages of emperialist exploitation capable of unchecked and unlimited development. In reality it encompasses at the same time all of the contradictions characterizing the economic, social and political structure of world capitalism and all this serves to subject the United States to the gravest convlusions, and render it susceptible to every shock arising in any part of the world."

TROTSKYIST PROGRAM

The resolution points to the need for transitional demands and the role that they play in the struggles of the working class in every country. It clarifies the relationship of democratic demands to the program, as they become timely or recede in importance.

The editors' Review of the Month, which hails the conference and it decisions, deals also with the world famine and the Nuremberg Trials. Other articles in the June issue include "The Scientists and Atomic Energy," by John G. Wright, and an exposure by Jeff Thorne of "Profiteering in the Second World War."

Reviewed by Ruth Johnson

Congressmen At Work

Where do Congressmen get the enormous energy required for their ceaseless scheming in behalf of Wall Street? This top political secret was recently inadvertently disclosed by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin.

Wiley called the attention of the Senate to an article in the April 13 **Saturday Evening Post** on Dr. Calver, a physician delegated by the government to keep the Senators and Representatives in trim. This article contains a "significant statement," declared Wiley: "—and I say it is significant because I have been at the doctor's house. I noticed that he had a dog who seemed to be full of atomic energy."

Wiley then read the "significant statement" into the **Congressional Record** since it pointed out the source of the dog's atomic energy: "The doctor's dog, Chipper, has become a cheese eater . . . and hovers beside the dinner table when a big round, red-paraffined offering is brought on."

Chipper's source of atomic energy is shared by his master. "I particularly call attention to the fact that the doctor apparently attributes his ability as a physician to the fact that he is a great consumer of Wisconsin cheese."

To prove this contention Wiley quoted from the article: "A Wisconsin cheese is his favorite and he consumes such quantities that once when a truck pulled

up to deliver three cases"—Wiley interrupted himself, "I presume that means of cheese—" And then continued: "The driver asked one of his daughters, 'Does your father have a cheese store?'

"'No; he eats it,' she directly replied."

The admirable eating habits of the dog Chipper and his master the Congressional physician struck the Senator as about as perfect as anything possible in this imperfect world. The dog "fully agrees with his master that there's nothing quite like a big hunk of cheese with a little apple pie on top."

The cheese-eating legislators listened with rapt attention as Wiley continued his lyrics to Wisconsin cheese: "Mr. President, the reason I have called this to the attention of the Senate is that a number of my associates have asked, 'When can we get Wisconsin cheese'?"

Senator Wiley held out the hope to his cheese-hungry colleagues that something can be done soon to increase the supply of cheese required by Congress: "I notice that my colleague in the Senate (Mr. La Follette) this noon was lunching with the two big cheese men of our state."

The Senator then gave a practical demonstration of how a diet of Wisconsin cheese sharpens the brains of a capitalist politician. The "significant statements" about the cheese-eating doctor and his cheese-eating dog were just the necessary premises for the inescapable logical conclusion—all price controls on cheese have got to be done away with!

That way the cheese makers will discover an incentive for supplying the needs of the cheese eaters. "Mr. President," concluded Wiley: "I still have hopes that into the brains of those in OPA there will come light sufficient so that Senators can get the cheese they want . . ."

NEW HAVEN
"The Strike Wave's Lessons for Labor"
SUNDAY, JUNE 9
Rakorta Club, 170 Dixwell
2nd Floor 7:30 p.m.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Tax Profits for Soldier Bonus!

The question of state and federal bonuses for veterans is coming increasingly to the fore. Legislation granting a bonus of $10 for every month of domestic service during wartime and $15 for every month of overseas duty during wartime was recently passed by the Illinois state legislature. Bills are pending discussion in other states and several have been presented to the appropriate committees in Washington.

In a manner that is likely to be followed by legislators in both Washington and other state legislatures, the Illinois "law-makers" are discussing ways of saddling veteran and non-veteran workers with the burden of paying for the bonus.

They have carefully avoided consideration of a tax on wealthy corporations and turn their attention to increasing the taxes paid by workers. They view with favor an amusement tax, a cigarette tax, and an increase in the sales tax. If enacted these proposals would take more money out of the already heavily taxed pay envelope of veterans and non-veterans.

There is a way to finance the bonus without driving down still further the living standard of the workers. It can be done without extracting it from the men who were forced to fight the war and who made huge sacrifices in wages and health. That way is to tax the war-profiteers.

Everyone must remember the promises made by the government and war propagandists before and in the early stages of the war. They said there would be no war-profiteering, no war-millionaires. Roosevelt even assured the workers that the salaries of the corporation executives would be limited. This is what they promised the workers when the wage freeze was imposed on them.

But contrary to Washington's assurances, net profits of the big corporations soared as never before. Net profits increased by an average of 300 per cent. Eleven additional corporations entered the BILLIONAIRE class. Big Business netted no less than 56 BILLION dollars in profits. All of this during the war and as a result of the war.

Workers Must Support Demand

At the same time workers' wages were frozen and the cost of living mounted steadily. At the same time millions of servicemen were being subjected to the privations, horrors and agony of war on battlefronts in every part of the world. Millions had their health impaired, other hundreds of thousands were wounded. All servicemen lost precious time and return to civilian life with added handicaps. Many are now unemployed and the majority who find jobs receive from 25 to 30 dollars a week.

Now as during the war, the big corporations are raking in substantial profits and have every reason to expect them to increase to new heights in the near future.

Despite these facts, federal and state legislators now propose to increase the cost of the bare essentials of life by adding to the already high sales taxes. The Illinois legislators are acting like all Democrat and Republican politicans. They are extremely sensitive to the interests of their masters, the capitalists, but are indifferent to the interests and needs of veterans and non-veteran workers.

Veteran and non-veteran workers must support the demand for a bonus. Ex-servicemen are fully entitled to it. But they must demand a tax on Big Business to finance the bonus. The money barons profited from the war, now they must be forced to pay for the care and the needs of the men who sacrificed so much during the war.

Statement Of National Committee Of The Socialist Workers Party

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, at its meeting on May 22, 1946, established the following facts:

1. Comrades Goldman and Morrow and other party members associated with them in the faction have over a long period of time deliberately and systematically violated Section VIII, Article 8 of the party constitution, which reads as follows: "Political collaboration with non-members of the party must be formally authorized by the party committee having jurisdiction."

2. The Goldman-Morrow faction conducted its activities in direct collusion with the leadership of the Workers Party. The purpose of these activities was to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party and split away a section of the membership under guise of a demand for "unification" of the two parties.

3. The plan of operations was to provoke expulsion through a series of flagrant violations of discipline. In pursuance of this plan, Comrades Goldman, Morrow and other party members associated with them in the faction committed a long series of acts of indiscipline and disloyalty despite repeated warnings and appeals that they cease and desist.

In order to restore party discipline and protect the party from disruption, while giving Comrades Goldman and Morrow one more opportunity to change their course and return to a party-loyal attitude, the National Committee resolves as follows:

1. To censure Comrades Goldman and Morrow and warn them that any further violations of the party rules will be met by further disciplinary action.

2. To instruct the Political Committee and the local and branch executive committees to take careful note of this resolution and see to it that it is promptly and rigorously enforced in case of any more violations of party discipline on the part of the above-named party members.

3. To publish this resolution.

National Committee, Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK FORUM
'Behind Browder's Moscow Trip'
- **The Crisis In The Communist (Stalinist) Party**
- **What's Behind the Shift in Leadership?**
- **Why the Gangster Attacks on the Trotskyists?**

CHARLES CARSTEN
Militant Staff Writer
SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 8 P.M.
Militant Labor School
116 University Place

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Stalinist Leaders Thwart Picket Line Against May Quinn

Editor:

Rank and file Stalinists who hoped their leaders would seriously fight fascism, have been submitted to another rude shock. Tonight, May 17, "the friends of May Quinn" held a capacity meeting of 1380 at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Upon the insistence of Stalinist leaders, a projected picket line had been called off, and the fascists were unmolested by any "unpleasantry."

May Quinn is a civics teacher suspended from the school system for preaching anti-Semitism and race-segregation to her students. The Board of Education later reinstated her with payment for time lost. The meeting tonight was a "celebration" by her supporters.

The Conference on Civil Rights, an organization made up of Stalinist-controlled unions and other Stalinist-dominated organizations two weeks ago at a stormy session had voted to throw a picket line around the Quinn meeting.

For months the Stalinists have been circulating petitions, and sending letters to Congress, condemning May Quinn as a fascist. However, at virtually the last moment a report was submitted to the Conference on Civil Rights asking that the original decision for a picket line be reversed.

"It is obvious," said Stalinist spokesmen at this Conference meeting, "that this issue will be misunderstood as an issue of Jew against Catholic and split the trade unions." Leaders of the Conference claimed that "progressive" (Stalinist-led) unions would not support the picket line.

Despite tremendous pressure from the Stalinist rank and file, especially from veterans, the Stalinist leaders succeeded in sabotaging the picket line.

A. R.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Philadelphia Vets Get Runaround

Editor:

Since December a crisis has existed in Philadelphia. Veterans are without homes and apartments and are forced to live in cramped quarters, with in-laws who may have been fortunate enough to find any space for themselves.

The local municipal administration has done absolutely nothing to alleviate the housing situation despite the protests and demands of the veterans through the AVC, CIO Veterans Committees and other veteran organizations. Here is what the veterans of World War II have returned to in the 'City of Brotherly Love':

Through the pressure of the veterans' organizations the City Council made promises and plans in December for temporary housing of veterans. Since that time not one unit has been initiated in construction. One of the proposed sites by the City Council was so vague and the Federal Public Housing Authority so impatient that its representative left the city without even locating the site for approval.

In the past three months only five of twenty-two proposed sites for 376 housing units out of an insufficient 2,000 proposed units were authorized by FPHA and allocated by the Philadelphia City Council. These five sites approved have been found unsuitable for anyone to live on, even though they were approved by the City Planning Commission. The sanitary facilities consist of open cesspools and open drainage ditches. They are inconveniently located far from schools, stores, and transportation.

One proposed site has an incidence of rheumatic fever 13.8 times as great as the average of the remainder of the city; this disease leads to mortality at the ages of 35-40. This is where the City Council wants the veterans to raise their children.

Disgusted with the lack of any concrete planning by the City Council or any other body in the community, the veterans proposed the erection of temporary housing units in Fairmont Park. During the war the Park Commission, appointed by the Republican machine, had permitted the army to construct temporary barracks and the veterans saw no reason for their not being permitted to live there with their families during the housing emergency. The Fairmont Park officials couldn't see the need for veterans' housing and denied them the privilege of living on public property . . . the city park

C. Blake
Philadelphia

London Reader Says Workers Grow More Class-Conscious

Editor:

I am a regular reader of **The Militant**, and have been for some time, not missing more than an occasional copy. You may be interested to learn that the issue dated April 13 was in my hands by the 25th.

There will not be much I can tell you of the political situation in Britain which will be fresh to you. However, I should like to say that there is a deep transformation of working class consciousness going on, which is often under-estimated by self-styled "leftists" because it is at present only implicit.

I mean that it expresses itself chiefly in a greater tolerance for genuine communist propaganda, if not actual receptivity. Moreover, the self-styled labor intellectuals cannot understand how it is possible for a very rapid development to take place in a worker's attitude by virtue of his social position.

Thus, not so long ago I sat in a Smithfield cafe and listened to the porters' criticism of the great dock strike, which showed that they had largely swallowed the slanderous lies being peddled by almost every paper. Within a few months the meat-porters themselves were out, and organizing determined picket lines!

One feature of **The Militant** which I welcome has been the inclusion of some short poems on revolutionary subjects. In spite of what the philistine will say, I feel sure that, even from the esthetic point of view, one must realize that the rebirth of literature will take its inspiration and first find itself, through such modest but sincere beginnings.

This has encouraged me to send you two poems I have written, which I hope will be thought worthy to appear in your paper.

With my warmest wishes to the first revolutionary paper of the world, I am,

Yours fraternally,
Val Morris
London, England

Editors' Note: We print elsewhere on this page one of the poems sent us by Comrade Morris.

TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS

Not stone or bronze their stature shall record
Who pressed with adamantine will the fight
Of all man's history, that has incurred
Their martyrdom. Song shall not hymn the fate
Of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Ignace Reiss,
The Old Man (done to death in Coyoacan)
But threnodies be made in action's verse,
Our deeds to thunder paeans in the keen
Incisive lettering of Bolshevik
Practice. In victory, be our requiem of
Such deep felicity as will evoke
(Phrased with industrial steel) memorial love.
World Revolution is the architect
Whose buildings shall preserve their fame intact.

By Val Morris

Vet Hospital Unforgettable Revelation Of Broken Lives

Editor:

Traveling south on fashionable Broad Street, toward the southernmost tip of Philadelphia, you can't miss Philadelphia Naval and Veterans Hospital. Twelve stories high it soars. Built of solid steel, concrete, and glass; covering hundreds of acres; an architectural beauty; a monument to human ingenuity. Home of the hopeless and the despairing. Home of broken bodies and crushed minds.

This is only one of the thousands of hospitals where the men who fought the War To End All Wars met the sons of their comrades, who just 20 years later fought again to win a Peace. They house the misery of two generations—the men without arms or legs, the blind, the diseased, the hopelessly burned and disfigured, and the men without reason—the backwash of two imperialist wars.

Designed and built to house 4,000, the Philadelphia hospital overflows and spreads into countless long ugly buildings, and still more are being built to house the many thousands who are waiting for the care they can't afford.

The greatest portion of patients are amputees being fitted for new arms and legs, but there are also amputees who have lost too many of their members for artificial devices.

Those who can learn to use man-made members are comparatively lucky. They still have hope. They can move, even if only painfully and awkward. They can leave some day, half man, half machine, and return to the living.

For the rest there is no hope. Buried alive in darkness, pain or paralysis, for them the monotony of living is only broken by eating and sleeping.

The men in here aren't the only ones to suffer; there are their families — mothers, wives and children. Three times weekly they are allowed to come for an hour. Overflowing the long corridors, they move more running than walking, carrying presents and little comforts for the men who eagerly await them.

There are many wards where no visitors are permitted entrance; tuberculosis wards, communicable disease wards. And there are men who have been so disfigured that they have to be hidden out of mercy to themselves and their families.

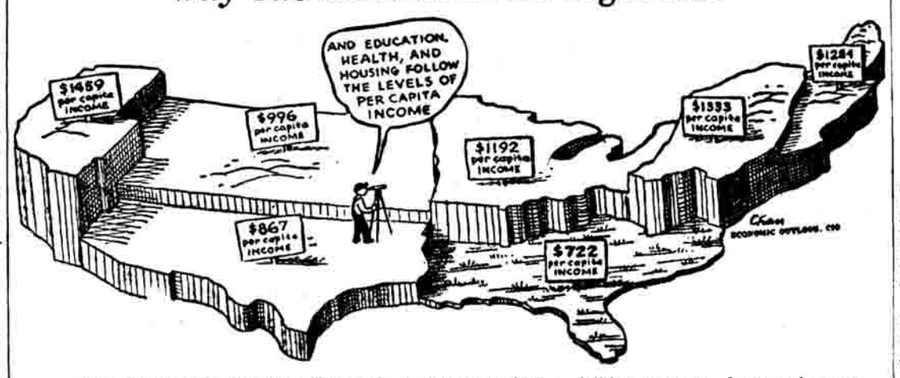
There are men who fought the Battle of Belleau Woods and Argonne, for 25 years over and over again; and, men who have just begun to suffer anew the horror of the beaches of Anzio and the jungles of the Solomons?

There are men.....

When will we build the wards for Atomic casualties?

T. Rust
Philadelphia

Why The South Must Be Organized



This chart from the CIO Economic Outlook provides a striking answer. Average income per person in the southern states in 1944 was $722, less than half the average of $1,459 in the far west. **Federated Pictures**

Housewife Denounces Profiteers Who Create High Living Costs

Dear Editor:

"Society is composed of two great classes: those who have more dinners than appetites, and those who have more appetite than dinners."—Chamfort.

How true! Only we housewives watching a budget can tell you. We aren't mathematicians. We can't show you by charts, etc. But when we go to market we know what's happened!' And when we try to buy clothing, we know!

When we read about the butter shortage, we also read about how big dairy concerns are turning the milk over to ice-cream producers for — "a better price," meaning **greater profit**. And this applies to all big concerns diverting their products for a "better price."

Their products? In reality they are **our** products. Without us, they would not be produced. Without us the wheels of industry would not run.

Recently there appeared in the press an item on the shortage of poi in Hawaii. What is poi? Why speak of Hawaii? We are talking about the high cost of living in the U. S. Well, poi is the staff of life to Hawaiians, just as potatoes or bread are to us. And Hawaiians are workers, exactly like us, and like us, exploited by Big Business. Why is there a shortage of poi? "No longer any profit in it," states the reporter. "Not enough profit" is the cry of Big Business the world over.

CROPS PLOWED UNDER

Let's take a look at the last 10 or 15 years right here at home. During the depression years we saw food and the raw material for clothing plowed under, while we and our children went hungry and poorly clothed. Why? They said that the markets were glutted. We had no money to buy back what we produced so there was "No longer any profit."

During the war huge mills and plants were opened to manufacture every known and unknown item for destruction, but not for use by us. And whose war was it? Our eyes are being slowly but surely opened to the fact that it was the war of Big Business for more markets — for **more profits.**

Now we are in the period called "Peace." To us it means cutbacks, layoffs, loss of purchasing power while prices continue to rise. And still Big Business cries: "Not enough profits."

These are "Peace" prices. You can maybe get a pound of butter if you buy $3 worth or more of high-priced groceries first. In the large chain stores, none of the familiar brands of products of known quality are available. There are new, unknown brands at practically double the former prices. The chain stores sell what they can make the most profit on—the type and kind of foods they decree, or we go without. The same is true of fresh vegetables. The housewife who can obtain fresh vegetables from a huckster is indeed lucky.

CLOTHING PRICES SOAR

Let's take a look at clothing. Before the war cheap dress shoes cost $2; good dress shoes $5. Today these cost $5.95 for the cheap and $8.95 and up for the better shoes. Our kids used to outgrow shoes. Now, not only are they worn out in a few weeks, but of such inferior quality that it doesn't pay to have them repaired.

Today, cotton garments for men, women and children are so inferior that they go to pieces in the washing machine. Instead of trying to repair them, they practically have to be thrown away. And so you could go on and on, without even scratching the surface.

The more we delve into the cost of living and its fluctuations through the years, the more vivid becomes the answer. And if we strike or struggle against greedy Big Business, we are "put in our place" with the help of the government. What we need in our struggle against Big Business is our own independent Labor Party. Candidates to represent us would come from our own ranks, from picket captains, from men and women who have proven their capabilities in workers' struggles.

This would lead us to workers' and farmers' control of production, to production for use and not for profit. Yes, we workers and producers of the world's finest things, hold the key to a better world.

Ruth Massey,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pioneer Notes

During 1942, Pioneer published Leon Trotsky's **In Defense of Marxism**, and in 1943, James P. Cannon's **The Struggle for a Proletarian Party**. These two books contain the documents of the 1939-40 fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition within the Socialist Workers' Party.

In 1944 Pioneer Publishers brought out **The History of American Trotskyism** by James P. Cannon, which tells the story of the American Trotskyist movement from the original expulsion of a small group of Trotskyists from the Communist Party in 1928 to the launching of the Socialist Workers Party in January, 1938.

The three books, as a set, are sold for $5.00. They are essential reading to any worker who wants a firm understanding of Trotskyism, its history and its basic program.

This week we have this very interesting letter from a friend in Basle, Switzerland, dealing with the first two books mentioned above. He says:

"One of my friends was good enough to loan me **In Defense of Marxism**. It truly combines style (this Burnham conceded) with Science (of which that petty-bourgeois ideology thought they possessed a monopoly.) In addition, the doubts I have had on the nature of the Soviet State have been entirely dissipated by the arguments of the Old Man (Trotsky), and so—both pleasure and profit from reading it! As for **The Struggle for a Proletarian Party**, (by James P. Cannon) I am quite in agreement with the Old Man that had the controversy produced only this book, it had not been in vain. I am completely in accord."

• • •

In Defense of Marxism, by Leon Trotsky, clothbound $2.00, paper $1.50.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, by James P. Cannon, clothbound $2.00, paper $1.50.

The History of American Trotskyism, by James P. Cannon, clothbound $2.00, paper $1.00.

Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Youth Group Activities

NEW YORK—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place, Dancing and refreshments follow.

Brooklyn: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters. SWP, 635 Fulton Street. Dancing, refreshments.

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES — Socialist Youth Club meets every Friday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educationals by Youth, and SWP speakers.

Subscribe to "Young Militant," published semi - monthly, for truth of youth's struggles.

• • •

Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

No More Body?

"The atom bomb has ended one age and begun another, 'the new and unpredictable age of the soul,' President Truman declared," reports the N. Y. Times, May 10. His statement was part of a message to churchmen meeting in Atlantic City.

MILITANT ARMY

Past subscription drives for additional readers to **The Militant** have indicated this campaign plan as a successful method in building up a circulation numbering in the tens of thousands.

Campaign methods applied to newsstand sales can result in similar gains towards the extension of our circulation.

We want to urge all literature agents to send us any ideas tried by their branches to step up newsstand sales, which we can print in the **Militant Army**, as illustrated by the following reports.

• • •

Ruth Massey of Pittsburgh writes: "When a new stand is obtained, we plan to conduct a sales campaign of single copies of **The Militant** in the surrounding neighborhood. To **The Militant** will be attached a mimeographed leaflet which calls attention to the special features and qualities of our paper, and the information that it can be bought each week at the given newsstand.

"We have mimeographed a large supply of such leaflets, leaving a blank to be filled in with the address of newsstands as we obtain them."

• • •

Another plan is contained in this note from **Rose Cappy of Tacoma:** "Will you please increase our bundle order? Our newsstands are selling out and already we have succeeded in recruiting two new members to the Socialist Workers Party from our newsstand sales.

"You may be interested to know that before we put the papers on the stand, we include a little note or leaflet to the prospective buyer informing him of any meeting or event which the Tacoma Branch is about to engage in. This has helped in our recruitment."

• • •

Mrs. Martin of Arizona, an enthusiastic supporter of **The Militant** writes: "An article in **The Militant** informed me of the existence of your American Committee for European Workers Relief.

"Since it sounds like an excellent channel of relief, I am enclosing my contribution to help in the expenses of your work in sending food and clothing abroad. I hope to be able to send more aid in the future."

• • •

From Newark, we received this note: "One of the members of a steel local here whose members had been receiving **The Militant** quite regularly during the recent strike told us the following anecdote: 'One of our officers told the fellows not to read **The Militant.** But I saw him once when you were distributing the paper, take it, look around to see if anyone was watching and stick his copy of **The Militant** under his coat. He didn't want us to read it, but he wanted to know what **The Militant** was saying'."

E. Jarvis of Cincinnati writes: "**The Militant** has been very well received by workers out on picket lines in Cincinnati, especially out at Allis-Chalmers. I've also sold a number of subs to these workers, and have promises of quite a few more."

• • •

Many workers of the **Timken** Roller Bearing Co. became subscribers to **The Militant** during their recent strike. The following are two recent letters we've received attesting to their appreciation of our paper:

H. M. of Canton writes: "I find your paper one of the outstanding labor papers in America. We won our strike at the Timken Roller Co. which was a very tough battle, and in view of that I want to extend my subscription from six months to one year, for your great paper."

H. L. M. of Canton sent this note: "I enjoy your paper very much, and appreciate your writings, due to your fairness to all creeds, colors and nationalities."

SAINT PAUL
Socialist Workers Party
Opens Its
NEW HEADQUARTERS
540 Cedar Street
St. Paul 2, Minn.
HOUSEWARMING PARTY
Saturday, June 8, 8:30 P.M.
Dancing - Fun - Good Food
Militant Readers Welcome

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

5. Build an independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

9. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:
☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME .....
(Please Print)
STREET .....
CITY .....
POSTAL ZONE ..... STATE .....

Now on Sale

Fourth International

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By John G. Wright

Profiteering in the Second World War
By J. Thorne

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NEW YORK
Three Lectures on the
ATOM AGE
Dialectical Materialist View of Atomic Energy, By
JOHN G. WRIGHT
Associate Editor of Fourth International
WEDNESDAYS AT 8:15 P. M.
June 12—Atomic Energy and the Scientists
June 19—Atomic Energy and Communist Future of Man
June 26—Atomic Energy in Light of Marxist Philosophy
Registration: 3 Lectures $1; single lectures 35c
Militant Labor School **116 University Place**

SEE "CZAR TO LENIN"
Historical Film of Russian Revolution
SEATTLE: FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 7 P.M.
Followed by dancing, refreshments
SWP Headquarters 1919½ Second Ave.
TACOMA: SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 8 P.M.
Lecture: What Has Happened Since?
Odd Fellows Temple 6th and Fawcett
Auspices Socialist Workers Party

Pittsburgh Readers!
Militant Reading Room
Will move June 1 to
141 S. Highland, Rm. 31
(Corner Highland & Centre)
Phone: EM 4899

$12,294 REACHED IN 'MILITANT' FUND AS DRIVE FORGES AHEAD OF SCHEDULE

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

The eager determination of the comrades of the Socialist Workers Party, as well as our **Militant** readers and friends to reach our goal of raising $15,000 to sustain **The Militant** is well illustrated by the oversubscribing of our projected weekly quota of $1,000.

At the end of the tenth week, as in each preceding week, our weekly quota has been oversubscribed, thereby enabling us to obtain to date, $12,294.39, or 82 per cent of our quota. We are ahead of schedule by 11 per cent, and there is every indication that we will surpass our original goal.

A surprise note on our scoreboard this week is revealed by the Cincinnati's replacement of Portland in second position. Portland has held this position for many weeks, but the overfulfillment of Cincinnati's pledge to our **Militant** Sustaining Fund Drive, has relegated Portland to third place. However, it's still not too late for Portland to overcome this setback, and we hope to see some active competition between the two cities.

ST. LOUIS CLIMBS

St. Louis is another branch to be added to our 100 per cent category. We want to commend them for their remarkable jump from sixteenth place last week to eleventh this week, in addition to having fulfilled their quota to our fund drive.

Next week's scoreboard should have a number of additional "100 per centers," judging by the many branches that have already obtained way above 80 and 90 per cent of their quotas.

We want to again urge those branches which are still below 75 per cent to make every effort in the next couple of weeks to pay on their pledges in order to be part of the "100 per cent" category by June 15.

FROM MAIL BAG

From our mailbag, we pass on to our readers, some interesting items:

Douglas Snyder of Flint writes: "With the enclosed payment we are well on our way towards completing our quota. I'm very proud of our Flint branch, and now it is not a question of our merely making our 100 per cent, but how much we can exceed our quota.

"The **Militant** Fund Drive is really in full swing and the comrades are getting a remarkable response from sympathizers and friends. We have a contest here amongst our comrades to determine who can obtain the most money from sympathizers. Though rather slow in getting started it is gaining momentum and is proving most successful."

From Newark we received the following note: "We have received pledges from our branch members amounting to more than $300, our quota for the **Militant Fund Drive.** The pledges are being paid promptly, as can be seen from our position on the scoreboard.

"We haven't put on a campaign to get contributions from our **Militant** subscribers in this area, because we will soon be asking them to contribute funds for our Fall Election campaign. Despite this fact, we have received $12 for the fund from **Militant** readers, who sent it in to us, plus another $5 pledge. We have every confidence that by the time the campaign ends we will go over our quota."

TACOMA PLEDGES $25

We want to especially commend the initiative of one of our newest branches in Tacoma, Washington. Although they have no formal pledge to our **Militant** Fund Drive, organizer Herb Cappy sent us the following note: "Enclosed is check for $10.45. Our branch is pledging itself to a $25 quota in the present drive."

There are only four more weeks to go in this **Militant** Fund Drive, and we're well on our way to a most successful conclusion. Let's maintain our weekly oversubscription, thereby assuring that we will surpass our original goal.

Readers Spur Fund Drive By Mailing Coupon

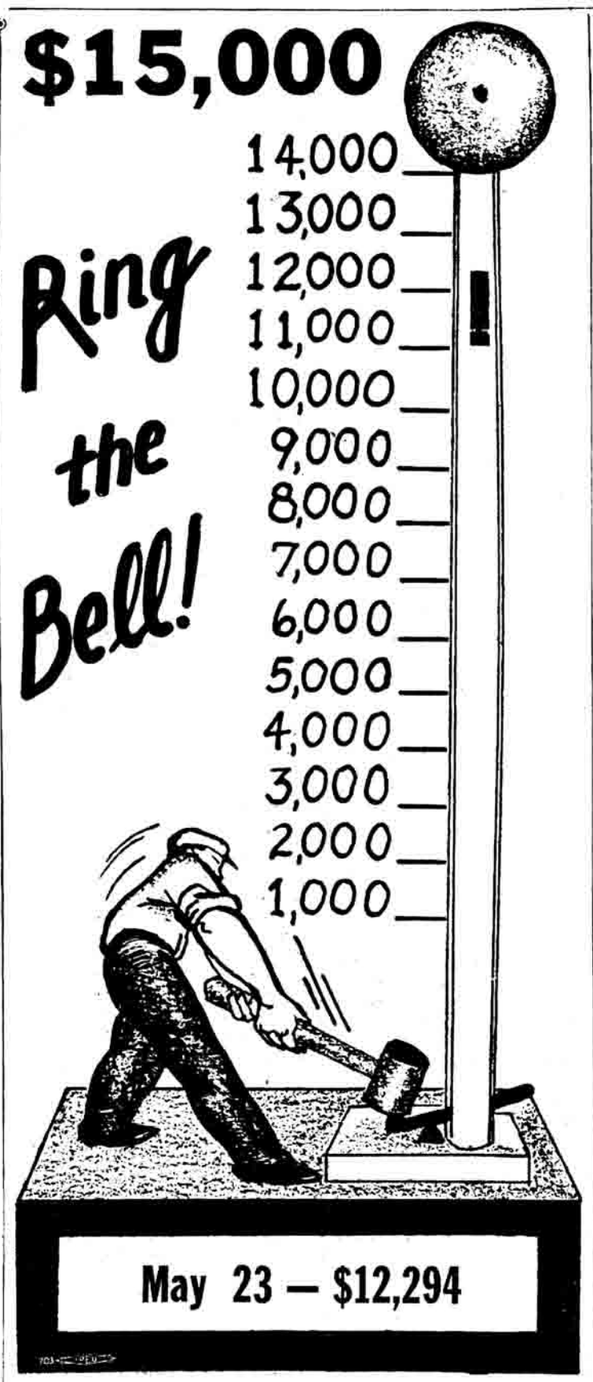
"I Want To Help!" has become the slogan of many readers of **The Militant** in the course of our $15,000 Sustaining Fund Campaign. Just two weeks ago we reported that $74.91 had been contributed by **Militant** readers by means of the collection lists circulated by Socialist Workers Party members and friends. In addition, readers have been contributing directly by using the "I Want To Help!" coupon clipped from this page.

FROM MANY CITIES

Coupons with contributions totaling $37 have come in from cities all over the country; New York; Baltimore; Turtle Creek and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Chicago; Minneapolis; Tolleson, Arizona; San Francisco. Nor does even this exhaust the help given us by readers who want to see **The Militant** continue to reach the working class with its revolutionary socialist program.

From Seattle, we received a letter enclosing $10. "I am 92 years old," the letter began. "I have prayed over 70 years to outlive capitalism and I haven't given up the fight yet. The wealth they squandered in the past five years could have made a paradise for every man on earth, instead of the sorry plight the peoples of the world are in today.

"I am sending you five subscriptions and $5 for the $15,000 fund, and more power to you. May you live long."



SCOREBOARD

CITY	QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	121.52	242
CINCINNATI	25	30.00	120
PORTLAND	25	27.00	104
ROCHESTER	50	50.00	100
BALTIMORE	25	25.00	100
READING	100	100.00	100
BOSTON	400	400.00	100
YOUNGSTOWN	400	401.00	100
CONNECTICUT	100	100.00	100
ST. PAUL	250	250.00	100
ST. LOUIS	50	50.50	100
Newark	300	280.40	93
Buffalo-Lackawanna	500	466.00	93
Minneapolis	500	466.00	93
Flint	100	92.00	92
San Francisco	1000	906.00	90
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	65.00	87
New York	3500	3046.32	87
Milwaukee	100	86.05	86
Philadelphia	500	400.00	80
Philadelphia Youth	25	20.55	80
Los Angeles	2000	1585.50	79
Pittsburgh	100	75.00	75
Cleveland	250	187.00	75
Chicago	1500	984.10	66
San Diego	100	65.00	65
Detroit	1250	799.16	64
Akron	300	143.25	48
Toledo	200	96.81	48
Bayonne	75	34.50	45
Seattle	500	201.50	40
Los Angeles Youth	75	30.19	30
General	575	709.04	142
TOTAL	15,000	$12,294.39	82

Chicago Groups Fight Policy Of Discrimination In Hiring

By Robert L. Birchman
(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, May 22—A campaign to force the Continental Baking Co., distributor of Wonder Bread, to employ qualified Negroes as driver-salesmen on its bread trucks is being vigorously continued despite police provocations and arrests. The campaign launched by the Negro Labor Relations League in March has gained increasing public support.

The majority of grocery stores in the area bounded by Wentworth Avenue on the west; Cottage Grove on the east; 31st Street on the north and 67th on the south are supporting the campaign by refusing to carry Wonder Bread. In this area 11 of the 13 routes delivering Wonder Bread have been discontinued. The campaign has been extended to the west side where over 30 stores now refuse to carry Wonder Bread.

The Continental Baking Co. has a few women bread demonstrators and a number of Negro men hired for inside work, but refuses to interview qualified Negro veterans who answer ads seeking driver-salesmen.

The NLRL campaign was launched by printing hundreds of posters and initiating a drive to enlist the support of all stores carrying Wonder Bread. Effective picketing of all stores that refused support was organized. These are picketed daily until they agree to cooperate.

A sound truck was used to inform the public of the campaign against the discriminatory practices of the Wonder Bread manufacturer. Lt. Earle Sardon, director of the campaign, was arrested and charged with "illegal operation of a sound truck." He was fined $200 and court costs on May 7. Arguments for a new trial will be heard July 2. The case will be appealed to the higher courts if necessary.

DEMAND FREE SPEECH

His lawyer, Cyrus J. Colter, argued that the use of a sound amplifier is a means of expression as much as the radio or soapbox-speaking on a street corner. "An ordinance prohibiting the use of one of these means, namely the sound amplifier, amounts to a deprivation of the freedom of speech."

During the trial a protest picket line marched in front of the police station carrying banners and placards.

Lt. Sardon was again arrested last week when police officers found him checking the route of the Wonder Bread trucks to determine at which stores they were still delivering bread. He was held for hours at the police station before he was booked on a charge of disorderly conduct.

SUPPORTED BY SWP

The NLRL campaign, vigorously and aggressively carried on, is actively supported by the Socialist Workers Party, the CORE (Committee for Racial Equality), the Washington Park Forum, the NAACP, the Afro-American Congress, the National Negro Congress, the Veterans Adjustment League, the Ministers Alliance and other organizations.

Chicago readers of **The Militant** are urged to actively support this campaign. Volunteers for picketing should call the Socialist Workers Party office, DEArborn 7652, for further information.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF SWP MEETS IN N. Y.

(Continued from Page 1)

ing crisis in the Communist Party. This is evident particularly in the unions where rank-and-file elements were on some occasions openly defying the orders of the Stalinist bureaucrats. The Political Committee was instructed to devote further attention to this trend and to devise measures for influencing it.

The international discussion took place chiefly around the April 1946 International Conference of the Fourth International and its decisions, which have been reported in recent issues of **The Militant** and in the June issue of **Fourth International.** A resolution was adopted, hailing the conference as "a signal achievement," testifying to "the virility of the parties of the Fourth International and to their continued devotion to the principles of revolutionary internationalism." The resolution expressed its full agreement with the general political line of the theses and manifesto of the conference.

The Political Committee report on the proposal for unification with the Workers Party traced the whole history of this question. It indicated that the unity proposal was designed, not as a serious step toward unity, but as a hostile maneuver intended to create a rift in the ranks of the SWP. The report surveyed the deep programmatic differences between the two organizations, which were now the subject of consideration.

The National Committee decided, however, to proceed with the discussion of the theoretical and political differences, including the differences in concept of a revolutionary party. The Political Committee was instructed to issue its recommendations on the matter prior to the next convention of the SWP.

Discussion of the party's internal situation resulted in the adoption of a resolution which is printed in full on Page 4 of this issue.

Preliminary arrangements were made for the next national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, and a period of pre-convention discussion was designated.

The Parent Without a Child

By V. Grey

Suppose I have a million dollars and I want it to "make money" for me, as they say money does. Will it grow bigger if I put it in a hole in the ground and cover it up with dirt? No, I must invest it. If I don't want the trouble of deciding what to "invest" it in, I can put it in a savings bank—let them invest it for me, and the law will guarantee me an income on which I can live beautifully without touching the million.

What magic does this million have, to act like that? What does it do to yield up this new fortune every year? It is more than human, apparently. For it creates new life without ever dying itself.

Let us follow this million dollars around in its "investment": A large building is bought for 50 thousand dollars. Forty machines at an average cost of 15 thousand dollars are bought for 600 thousand—lathes, planers, shapers, boring-mills, etc. Throughout the year 250 thousand dollars' worth of steel bars, shafts, castings, etc., are bought from other capitalists to serve as the raw material for these machines.

There is 900 thousand of the million accounted for. Will it "make money"? By all the laws of logic, it should make nine-tenths as much as a million. But will it? Suppose I let those things all stand there for a year. At the end of the year how much would I make?

Well, the building would probably still sell for 50 thousand dollars. My 40 machines, if they had been soaked in oil, might still sell for 600 thousand, but most likely I would take a loss on them. The same applies to my 250 thousand worth of raw materials.

So here is 900 thousand of my million that is very stubborn and singularly inept about this business of creating new values out of itself. The machines stand next to the raw materials like so many male and female mules. They have a lot of latent power but they cannot generate anything new. No matter how long these things associate with each other, nothing new is created. And no **new value** appears.

But if 40 workers are hired to put the raw material in the machines, operate and guide the work, at the end of the year, instead of rough castings there will be fine machined products, smooth close-tolerance shafts, etc. These will be a new creation. And they will represent a greater value than before. They are new things and new values.

New Value Has Been Added

They have the old value of 250 thousand that was given them by the previous labor worked up in them in the steel plants and foundries. Now they have a new value **added to the old**—the labor worked up in them by the machinists. Now they are sold for 450 thousand instead of 250 thousand dollars. That is a new value of 200 thousand dollars added by the machinists during the year.

Now if each of these machinists has been paid 50 dollars a week it will cost me just about 100 thousand dollars for the year. This, you will remember, was the tenth part of my million. If there is any magic about my million it is that tenth that is paid for labor. Because the labor added 200 thousand in value to the product, and I only paid the laborers 100 thousand. So my million has at last given birth to a little image of itself. It has apparently presented me with a 100 thousand dollar profit.

Here is the real problem, and also the real clue to the source of profits; the labor of other people that is worked up in the capitalist's product—and the wages paid for that labor.

Products are bought and sold all the time by the capitalists among themselves. They are sold according to how much labor is incorporated in them. But after a capitalist has **bought** products that represent a certain amount of labor, he must add some **more labor** to them in order to sell them for more than he bought them for.

To make a profit he must always be sure to pay the worker less values than the worker produces—or adds to the product. But how does the capitalist get away with this?

(Next week: Labor and Labor Power)

Mid-West Vacation Camp And School Is Ideal Place For Summer Holiday

By Justine Lang

With the approach of summer and warm weather, the city dweller turns his thoughts to plans for a vacation. A couple of weeks away from the blistering pavements and sweltering city are the very most that workers can afford, and only this at the sacrifice of many, many weeks' savings.

The next question with which he is confronted is, where shall I go? Where can I obtain the best in food, atmosphere, recreation, and yet be among people who are congenial and whose interests are similar to mine? Where I don't have to maintain a pretense of formality and propriety that I don't ordinarily have, and can just be myself?

To answer these questions by simply saying, go to the Mid-West Vacation Camp and School is not enough. Let me supplement this by some personal experiences.

My plans last summer called for a late August vacation, and for a number of weeks previous, comrades and friends who had attended the Mid-West School came back with glowing reports about the camp, which left me with the impression that it was just too good to be true. From previous experiences at other vacation spots, it didn't seem possible to have as complete and enjoyable a vacation as these reports attested.

However, my skepticism was alleviated after the very first day.

Mid-West Camp was attuned not to making a profit as other camps and hotels were, but rather to the promoting of friendships, and providing a healthful, happy and wholesome vacation for **Militant** readers, workers and their families, and their friends.

The expanse of natural woods behind the main house was a challenge to ambitious hikers, and for less hardy souls the wide grass lawns were invitations to lie in the sun or relax under the shaded trees.

Boating and swimming on Little Pleasant Lake was a tingling experience, marked by friendly challenges of "Beat you to the Raft" and "Last one in gets a ducking."

Inspiring classes in the "History of American Trotskyism" and "Historical Materialism" presented by top notch instructors, in addition to Friday night lectures, were well attended by vacationing workers who were anxious to understand world events, and the necessity for fighting for a better world in a socialist society.

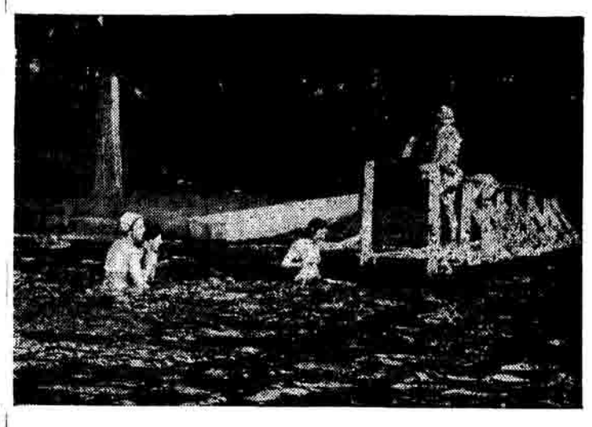
The "Saturday Night Follies," the campers' own vaudeville show consisting of the best amateur talent, was an eagerly awaited weekly event. The evening weenie roasts marked by group singing cemented even further the warm friendships begun at camp.

And the meals! In addition to food for thought, an abundance of delectable well prepared meals were served providing one with the energy to participate in the camp's many activities.

It is with a deep feeling of regret that one leaves Mid-West. It is no easy task to say goodbye to new found friends, but the consolation one finds is in the plans to meet again next summer.

Will be seeing you at Mid-West!

Fun At Mid-West School



A dip in the cool, sparkling waters of Little Pleasant Lake, is enjoyed by students at the Mid-West Vacation Camp and School. Reservations for the school are now being taken for the 1946 season.

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At
Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

Season June 30-Aug. 17 *Adults $25 week, Children $15*
OSCAR COOVER, Manager
116 University Place

Reserve accommodations for below from..... to.....
Family ☐ Couple ☐ Single ☐ (check one)
List all who will attend:
Name .....
(Mr., Mrs., Miss)
List Children and Age .....
Name of Applicant .....
(Please sign)
Address .....
City & Zone ..... **State**.....

New York
ANNUAL MILITANT BALL
Dancing From 9:30 p.m. to 2 a.m.
to the music of
KARL TAYLOR and his RHYTHM BAND
Also
5—BIG ACTS—5
SATURDAY, JUNE 15
In The Spacious, Air-Cooled
ROYAL PALM ROOM of the HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 W. 43rd St. New York
Tickets at all branch offices and City Office of Socialist Workers Party in New York.

I Want To Help!

To **The Militant:**
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

I like The Militant because it tells the truth. I know that it depends entirely upon workers like myself for support. That is why I want to do my part in contributing to **The Militant's** $15,000 Fund Campaign.

☐ I enclose $..... toward your work.

☐ I want a contribution-list to circulate among my friends and fellow-workers, so they can help The Militant.

Name .....
(Please Print)
Street ..... Apt. .....
City .....
Postal Zone No. ..... State .....

Why Stalin Inflicted Mass Purges On Revolutionary Soviet Workers

By Joseph Hansen

(The second of a series of articles)

Editorial Note: The Stalinist prosecutors at the Nuremberg trial have failed to produce a single document from Nazi archives supporting Stalin's contention in the notorious Moscow Trials that Lenin's main collaborators all ended up as Hitlerites. The Stalinist prosecutors failed to ask a single question of the Nazi prisoners about their alleged connection with the defendants in the Moscow Trials. In fact the Stalinist prosecutors have failed to mention anything connected with the Moscow Trials. Thus they have unwittingly underlined what had already been proved in 1937 by the International Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey—namely that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups and that Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov were innocent of the foul charges cooked up by Stalin. As a result interest has again been aroused in the Moscow Trials.

Last week Comrade Hansen demonstrated how the monstrous Purges from 1934 to 1942 by their sheer size and extent reveal the falsity of the Moscow trials.

• • •

Many attempts have been made to explain this long series of frightful purges suffered by the people of the USSR. All serious commentators without exception have dismissed out of hand the lying official explanation of Stalin that it was in answer to a pact made with Hitler by Lenin's former collaborators. They have rejected as utterly absurd the contention Stalin was stamping out a "Fifth Column." Some observers have attempted to explain the Purges in terms of the mysteries of the so-called "Russian soul" which is alleged to enjoy self-degradation, flagellation and death.

But the only satisfactory explanation based on economic, social and political facts is that made by Leon Trotsky before he fell under the blow of a pickaxe in the hands of one of Stalin's hired assassins.

TROTSKY EXPLAINED

Trotsky explained the purges as a stage in the degeneration of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union. Even before the successful October 1917 uprising of the workers, all the leading Bolsheviks had predicted that unless the revolution in Russia were followed up in short order by socialist revolutions in the more highly industrialized countries, particularly those in Europe, then the tendency to restore capitalism in the USSR would inevitably grow stronger and eventually lead to the crushing of the workers' state.

The socialist revolution did not succeed in Europe despite all the heroic efforts of Lenin and Trotsky and their followers. The mounting pressure for the restoration of capitalism in Russia took the form of bureaucratic degeneration of the workers' state. The government bureaucracy became stronger and stronger until finally it wiped out all democracy and set up the brutal personal dictatorship of Stalin.

Stalin's role was that of an abysmal traitor to Lenin's program. Stalin became the leader of the restorationist tendencies, and eventually—like a Twentieth Century Cain—began murdering his former comrades, those Bolsheviks trained in the school of Lenin and Trotsky who were capable of leading another workers' revolution in the USSR that might overthrow the political regime of Stalinist decay.

The whole wave of purges was designed to terrorize the militant layers of the working class, break up their ever-renewed tendency to organize a political opposition, and block the deep urge of the masses to restore the democratic form of government they began building in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

The political objective of the Moscow Trials was to stigmatize this revolutionary socialist tendency of the working class as "criminal" and thus provide a public excuse for murdering all possible leaders of a working class upsurge.

STALIN'S FORMULA

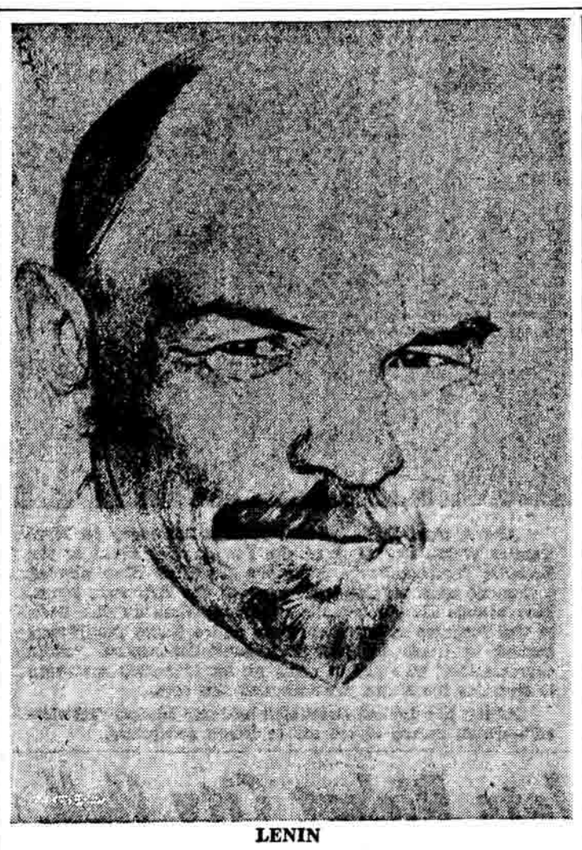
Stalin's liquidation of Lenin's former general staff of the revolution likewise coincided with the requirements of the Kremlin's foreign policy, which in those years was aimed at convincing western imperialism of its renunciation of the Bolshevik program of world socialism. Stalin formulated this betrayal of Marxism in his notorious slogan of building socialism in "one country." In practice this meant no countries.

The slaughter of Lenin's former comrades-in-arms signalized to world imperialism that Stalin was a man with whom reaction could do business in its struggle to block the development of revolutionary socialism.

For these reasons the prosecutor in all the trials staged by Stalin selected as his principal victim and target Leon Trotsky, the great living symbol of the October Revolution and the Marxist program of world socialism. With dagger, poison, lies, frame-ups and the firing squad Stalin sought to stop forever the spread of Marxist ideas and the growth of the Fourth International organized by Trotsky to continue the battle for world socialism.

But despite all the bloodshed and terror, Stalin did not succeed. The program of the Fourth International today is gaining a hearing from ever greater numbers of the oppressed. Sooner or later these invincible ideas will again become the rallying center of the Soviet masses. When the final balance sheet is drawn up, Stalin will stand indicted as the worst traitor of the Soviet Union, the arch-betrayer who helped pave the way for the second World War, for Hitler's assault on the USSR, and the unnecessary continuation for decades of the putrefying capitalist system.

(To be continued)



LENIN

Head of the Bolshevik Party which guided the Russian working class in the first successful socialist revolution. All of Lenin's companions and co-leaders have been liquidated by Stalin, most of them on the monstrous charge they had become fascist mad dogs. On January 4, 1923, Lenin wrote the following judgment: "Stalin is too rude, and this fault entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades. Less capricious." By 1926, Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, declared that had Lenin lived he would be in prison.

American Legion Top Brass Hit By Labor Legionnaires

NEW YORK, May 27—Delegates to the seventh annual meeting of the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires (a caucus in the American Legion) meeting in the Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, expressed their solidarity with the striking engineers and trainmen last Saturday and sent telegrams notifying President Truman, government officials and Congressmen of their stand.

In discussing the action, delegate after delegate took the floor to condemn the strikebreaking actions of the President and Congressmen. Angry delegates denounced the "friends of labor" who have given lip service to the union movement but who in practice solidarize themselves with the reactionary forces that are attacking labor.

OPPOSE 'KING-MAKERS'

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution criticising the lack of democracy in the American Legion. It named five "King Makers," who control the American Legion, decide on and dictate its basic policies.

In denouncing the bureaucratic Legion setup, the Union Legionnaires protested the undemocratic method used in selecting representation to the national conventions of the Legion and the high-handed way of selecting state and national leaders. They roundly condemned the procedure followed at Legion conventions.

Indicating that they are ready to conduct a determined fight against the Legion Brass Hats and for the defense of labor's rights, the Labor Legionnaires decided to publish and give wide circulation to the resolution condemning the Legion's dictatorial regime.

The meeting decided to keep the present organizational form of the National Conference which is based on labor posts and union members. In order to strengthen the organizational structure of the Conference the delegates agreed upon several measures:

1) The Conference will work for the establishment of more labor posts by putting pressure on the Legion tops to issue charters to both AFL and CIO worker-veteran groups. Many such applications have been rejected and many are pending a decision.

2) To raise money for the many organizational needs of the Conference, the meeting agreed to levy a per capita tax and raise the subscription rates to the monthly "Newsletter," which includes associate membership in the Conference.

3) With the aim of increasing the authority of the "labor policy committee" of the National Conference, membership on the committee was increased to three members each from the CIO, AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

DEMAND BONUS, HOMES

Some of the other actions taken by the meeting included resolutions calling for drastic amendment of the so-called GI Bill of Rights and the granting of substantial federal and state bonuses to veterans. The meeting called on the government to take over and make available to the veterans all tax-delinquent land, homes, apartments, hotels and resorts.

The meeting adopted a resolution on housing which demands that the city, state and federal governments declare a housing emergency and take immediate steps to make all unoccupied housing available to the veterans. It further demands inauguration of a full-scale, low-cost, low-rent public housing program financed by the government.

SWP Candidates Score Truman's Strikebreaking

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

NEWARK, N. J., May 27—"We vigorously condemn the Truman strikebreaking program, supported by Republicans and Democrats alike," four Socialist Workers Party candidates for office in the 1946 state elections declared in a statement to the local press today.

The four SWP candidates are: George Breitman for U. S. Senator; Alan Kohlman for Governor; William E. Bohannon for Congress, 11th District; and Arlene Phillips for Congress, 13th District.

"We solidarize ourselves with the just demands of the rail and mine workers and oppose any restrictions on the right to strike," the statement continued. "The real enemies of the people are not the workers, but the capitalist profiteers and their agents in Washington who steadily cut the people's living standards by ever-rising prices. We demand a sliding scale of wages adjusted to rise as prices rise and we urge the unions to fight for such a clause in all contracts.

"Finally, since the events of the last week have shown labor has no real friends or defenders in the government, we call for the formation of an Independent Labor Party, based on and controlled by the unions, to elect candidates who will defend labor's interests in Congress."

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

by CHARLES JACKSON

What A Fascist Thinks

With every week that rolls around come more reports of vigilante violence and threats against minority groups. A Negro veteran's home is burned to the ground in Detroit or a Jewish merchant is threatened with beatings and forced to leave a small town in Tennessee.

More and more are politically conscious workers realizing and warning against the very real danger of rising fascist forces here in America. More and more are they pointing out that such acts of terrorism are meant not alone for minority groups, but in the end for the entire working class which in this country is largely not black, but white.

This week Comrade G. Owens sends in a contribution to the column along this very line. We are glad to publish it and we repeat once again the invitation to all readers of **The Militant** to write down and send in their ideas on subjects of interest to the workers. This holds good regardless of whether there is agreement or not with the opinions previously printed here. The mad musings of Owen's fanatical fascist follow:

CANDID CONFESSION

"I am the Ku Klux Klan . . . I am Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith. . . . I am Bilbo, I am Rankin, I am Ellender and all the rest of such vermin . . . I represent the most vile forces of evil in America . . . In the interest of the few I seek to destroy the many. . . . In the interest of the parasitic vine I seek to strangle the stalwart tree.

"I stand for supremacy of white over black . . . I stand for supremacy of male over female . . . I stand for supremacy of gentile over Jew . . . I stand for supremacy of American-born over foreign-born . . . I embody every conception of bigotry and intolerance . . . In fact, hatred and prejudice is MY MEAT.

"My checkmate is the labor unions . . . I try to throw discord into their ranks . . . I try to prevent and destroy their organization . . . and above all I am pledged to prevent and break up strikes or other struggles of the working people to better their condition . . . I am for the police to break strikes . . . I am for the state militia to break strikes . . . I am for the army to break strikes . . . and finally I am for general anti-labor terrorism carried out by organized gangs which I am now helping to train.

"I hope to divide the masses by setting majority against minority . . . when this is accomplished I hope to conquer and subject BOTH . . . I hope to reduce all workers to the lowest possible level . . . yes, even to slave and sub-slave . . . and it matters not to which race they belong . . . If I have my way their lot will be the same.

"Right now I am afraid, however, that the working people will organize their OWN political party which I will not be able to control . . . For I know full well that when labor becomes powerfully organized POLITICALLY AS WELL AS ECONOMICALLY then I AM LOST FOREVER . . . just as I also know that when labor becomes organized IN THE SOUTH as well as in the North then I WILL HAVE BEEN DEALT A BODY BLOW.

"I know that if the little people consolidate themselves and gain a voice through their union in the GOVERNMENT which my friends now control . . . that they would then be in a position to look out for THEIR OWN interests for a change . . . I know that if a WORKERS' government ever was achieved the working men and women both black and white would IMPROVE their living conditions by 100 per cent . . . I know that they would then be on the way to a society of peace, of security, of full employment, of freedom for all peoples and of REAL brotherly love IN THE FLESH . . . and folks, THAT type of society I HATE!

"For, you see, I AM A FASCIST
FIRST,
Last, and
ALWAYS."

CHICAGO
4 Wednesday Night Classes On
"The Nature Of The Soviet Union"
June 6-13-20-27
Instructor: MIKE BARTELL
Socialist Workers Party
777 W. Adams 8 to 9:30 p.m.

A Typical "Officer and Gentleman"

By George Breitman

During the last few months there has been considerable discussion in the press about the officer caste system. In an effort to attract recruits, the army has even set up a board which will soon make recommendations for eliminating some of the more glaringly outrageous aspects of the caste system. This inevitably reminds me of Captain Flick, our commanding officer overseas — the most typical, the most officer-like of all I encountered.

Captain Flick had been in the Officer Reserve Corps in peacetime; had signed up while at school, got a smattering of military training, and in due course took his place with the other officers and gentlemen by act of Congress. We came overseas and joined his outfit in England about a week before D-Day. Ours was a battalion headquarters; he was commander of the headquarters detachment, batallion adjutant, summary court officer, etc. We didn't pay much attention to him at first because everything was so strange to us and because we were supposed to go to France on D-Day plus five.

SITUATION NORMAL

The invasion situation was normal, and we got across the channel only three days later than we were supposed to. When we got within landing distance early in the afternoon, there was no landing craft available and no one seemed to know where we should go, so we stayed on the ship all night. That proved unwise because when it got dark some German planes began dropping bombs on the ships in that area.

At the height of this activity, when we were beginning to appreciate the thoughts of a sitting duck, Captain Flick appeared among us, looking for something, and shining a flashlight in such a way as to inspire gratitude in the German bombardiers. We frankly told him what to do and where to go. After that, we watched him a little more closely.

When we got off at Omaha Beach the next day, Captain Flick was given the job of taking us to our bivouac area. With what we later recognized to be unerring inaccuracy he led us to the east instead of the west, so that it was night by the time we got to the area, and we had to dig ourselves in in the dark.

The situation remained normal and nobody knew what to do with our outfit for a couple of days after we got there. So we began to dig ourselves bigger and better foxholes. Such activity was unbecoming the dignity of a gentleman. Captain Flick ordered one of our medics to do his digging, and, not having anything else to do himself, stood by and gave directions while taking a sun-bath. Someone with a camera came by, taking human interest pictures. The captain ordered the medic to halt, took the shovel from him, assumed a position in the hole and had his picture taken. Then he got out and ordered the medic to resume work.

Some months later Captain Flick was interviewed by a radio broadcaster he knew back home and his remarks, suitably vague, made it seem he was one of the chief reasons why the invasion had been successful. Actually, Captain Flick's chief activity during the crucial weeks of the Normandy campaign was court-martialling soldiers for firing their carbines at night without visibly good reason.

In private Captain Flick demurred weakly to the batallion commander that you couldn't court-martial men and fine them for firing their weapons in a combat area, but the colonel didn't see it that way. And so Captain Flick, "like a good soldier," obediently carried out the summary courts-martial and made several hundreds of dollars for his government.

An enlisted man with charges against him by an officer never had a chance with Captain Flick. He was all for "upholding discipline." He even court-martialled one of the members of our own detachment, a young medic who had got drunk for the first time in his life. Captain Flick threw the book at him — discipline must be maintained at all costs. But when later one of our officers, heavily drunk, broke a chair over the head of an enlisted man in a quarrel over a French girl, there was no court martial. A month later the offending officer was just transferred to another outfit and a better job.

Captain Flick was frank about some things. He called the enlisted men "the hired help" and treated them accordingly. He used to say: "You know the hired help is supposed to do all the work around here. Us officers—we're just supposed to tell you what to do."

His social outlook was not very broad. He never read anything but picture magazines and comic books. He used to go out of his way to embarrass one of the Catholic enlisted men, who was very devout, with questions which must have seemed amusing among the Ku Klux Klan. Behind their backs he was always making cracks about the Jews. He had been born in the South and had the traditional cracker attitude toward the Negro soldiers. As for the French people —they were dirty foreigners who spoke a repulsive and incomprehensible language and who were responsible for everything that had happened to them and no good for anything but sexual intercourse anyhow.

STOOD ON RANK

Toward enlisted men Captain Flick was often rude. Even with his junior officers he often stood on his rank. One of these contradicted him about some minor matter once and Captain Flick's face got red. He drew himself up and said: "You want to remember that you're talking to a captain of the United States Army." "Yes, sir." "And I'm due the respect of such." "Yes, sir."

But toward his senior officers he was generally obsequious and timid. One time a general was supposed to come to inspect our quarters and there weren't many enlisted men around to clean the place up. That was the only time in 18 months I saw Captain Flick do a lick of work.

Somehow or other Captain Flick had got a college diploma. But his education wasn't such as to inspire confidence in his judgment. One time we went in a convoy from Normandy to Le Mans, by way of the ruins of St. Lo. Captain Flick was at the head of the convoy, directing it. We went off a main road and considerably out of our way. Finally we got lost, although it seemed a difficult thing to do.

We asked Captain Flick why he hadn't continued to follow the signs pointing to St. Lo. "Because I didn't see any," he answered. But, we said, every one else had seen them, and we turned back and showed him where they had been. "Why, I saw those signs," he admitted, "but I always thought Lo was spelled L-o-w."

Captain Flick fascinated me. He seemed to personify most of the officers I came across. I used to promise myself that some day I would write a semi-fictional story about an officer like him, finishing it off ironically with an account of his promotion to the rank of major. But toward the end of the war Captain Flick was promoted to major. That took the taste out of the project for me.

He went home around Thanksgiving, 1945, and we heard that he had reenlisted for another year. Where else but in the army can a man of his qualities get a job that automatically commands not only good pay—but "respect" as well?

The Man With The Hoe

"LONDON, May 22 — King George VI described himself as a farmer—with all 'a farmer's responsibilities' at the centenary luncheon of the Royal Agricultural College of Circencester today." (N. Y. Times, May 23).

Vienna Strikers Demand Control Of Production

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

VIENNA, Austria, May 4—Work stoppages throughout the plants here this week marked the first important social movement since V-E Day. Under pressure from the ranks, trade union officials formally sanctioned the stoppages. The resolutions endorsing the action demanded **workers' control of production** and called for placing **food distribution under supervision of the trade unions.**

Despite the greatly weakened physical condition of the workers, hunger is creating widespread unrest. Yet the famine has scarcely begun. According to latest reports the food ration is to be cut on May 25 from 1,000 calories a day to 330—a cut from the equivalent of 10 medium slices of brown bread to three and a third. (The Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council lists the minimum requirements for a moderately active man at 3,000 calories.)

Subscribe To The Militant
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Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — Visit **The Militant** Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p. m.; also Wed., 7:30-9:30.
Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8 p.m. June 2, 'American Workers Need Labor Party.' M. Carter.

ALLENTOWN - BETHLEHEM — Open meeting every Thursday, 8 p.m., at **Militant Labor Forum, S. E.** corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.
Public Forums—First Sunday each month, 8:15 p.m.

BALTIMORE—For information write Box 1583, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums to be announced.

BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m.; Wednesday and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Every Saturday night, **Current Events Discussion and Open House;** Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO — Visit SWP, 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562. Library, bookstore.
Classes every Wednesday, June 6-27, on "Nature of the Soviet Union." 8 to 9:30 p.m.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St.

DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 10 to 6. Phone Tyler 7-6267.

HARTFORD—For information, write P. O. Box 905.

LOS ANGELES—Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 8 p.m. Phone VAndyke 7936.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee SWP branch, 424 E. Wells St., evenings from 7:30. Sat. night—Open house, 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8, Tuesday, Friday.
Fridays, 8 p.m., Open House and Round Table Discussions.

MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

NEWARK—Branch meeting every Friday at 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30. Reading room and office open Mondays-Thursdays, 4 to 10 p.m.
May 31, 8:45: Mary Steele on 'The Rail and Mine Strikes.'
Tues., 7:30—Basic Training class.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149. Sat., 4:30 p.m., Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.

BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
Wednesday class, 8:30: State and Revolution.
Friday Class, 8:30: Principles of Socialism.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7483.
Mon. Class — "Program of SWP," 7 p.m.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

YORKVILLE: Discussion Group, meets at Czech Worker's Center, 347 E. 72 St. Wednesday, 8 p.m.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—Militant Reading Room, 141 S. Highland, Room 21 (corner Highland and Central Ave.), E. Liberty. Phone, EM. 4899. Open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 6:30 to 9:30. Sat. 2-6.
Sundays at 8, "Militant Discussion."

PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel ATwater 3992. Open 1 to 9:30, Monday to Thursday.

READING, Pa.—Militant Labor Forum, Market Bldg., 10th and Penn St., Room 202. Public forums every 2nd and 4th Sundays at 2:30 p.m. Headquarters open Mondays and Wednesdays from 8 to 10 p.m., also Fridays from 1:30 to 3 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.
Friday Classes: "Introduction to Marxist Economics" 7:30-8:30. "Fascism," 8:30-9:30.

SEATTLE—Visit our Headquarters, 1919½ Second Ave.
Friday, June 14 — "Czar To Lenin" film, 8 p.m.

ST. LOUIS—Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar Ave., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1132. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Pawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO—Forums every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m., 213 Michigan St. Open evenings, 7-9.

YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30, Monday to Thursday.

Diary Of A Steelworker *By T. Kovalesky*

The room was high and bright with the reflections of the marble walls. Five or six lines of men and women moved slowly toward as many desks that stood near the front wall.

I stood for a moment near the door, wondering which line to join, when somebody said, "Looking for unemployment insurance?"

"Yeah," I said, turning to see who had spoken.

It was one of the elevator men, an old fellow with a twisted look to his left leg. I noticed later that when he walked, his left hip lifted queerly in a rocking limp.

"Just get in any one of them lines," he said. "You from the steel plant too?"

"Yeah," I said again. "A lot of us here, eh?"

"Too bad," the old man said, shaking his head. "Course, you can't blame the miners any. If they don't fight, they won't get nothing."

I smiled. I knew that the fellows in the plan were wholeheartedly in sympathy with the miners, but it surprised me a little to see an elevator operator in a government building feeling the same way.

"Glad you feel that way," I said.

"I'm a working man like anybody else," he answered.

We talked a few moments longer. Then he closed the door of his elevator, and I joined one of the lines.

More people came in, and the lines lengthened. The temporary shutdown of the steel plant had certainly put a lot of us on the hunger rations of unemployment insurance.

Suddenly there was a flurry of commotion over at my left. Turning, I saw a tall young man falling into the arms of two other men in the same line. I heard him gasp and saw his legs hanging loosely as they lowered him to the ground, where he lay quite motionless, breathing with a queer, slow snoring noise. I don't think I ever saw anyone so pale before.

In a couple of seconds a crowd began to form. Two cops ran up, shouting, "Come on, get back. Give him some air."

They opened the man's collar, undid his belt, and began rubbing his wrists. In about five minutes, a doctor came from somewhere and took charge.

The silence that had followed the general knowledge of what had happened had by now changed to an excited babble as everybody talked about it.

"Poor guy," remarked the man behind me. "I wonder what happened to him."

"Heart attack," somebody else answered.

The man's eyes were open now, and he lay there on the shiny marble floor staring at the ceiling, a look of hopeless despair on his thin face.

"Stand back and give him some air," we could hear the cop bawling in irritated tones.

Who is he, where's he from? everybody was wondering. Then, from some place in the hall the answer was whispered along the lines: This man was not a steel worker. He'd been in a smaller plant and had been out of work for quite some time. He was here for his regular weekly check, just as he had come each week for months.

The lines moved forward. I was before the desk getting my check. Then I was on my way out.

As I passed the elevators a couple of men walked slowly past, supporting the sick man between them. The old elevator man looked at them in surprise and called out, "What's wrong?"

The sick man grinned faintly at him and went on out the door supported by the other two.

I stopped for a moment to tell the old man what had happened. "Do you know him?" I asked.

"Just from seeing him come in here," the old man answered. "He's got a wife and four young kids."

"Say," he added after a short pause, "he won't get no more unemployment insurance now. will he?"

God, no, I thought. The man was not "ready, willing, and able" to work. The government couldn't waste money giving unemployment insurance to men whose heart might give out when they went to work!

"I hope they don't claim he knew his heart was bad all along and try to get back the payments he's already drawn," I said.

"Nobody'll hire him now," murmured the elevator man, "and he won't get this money no more . . . What'll become of his wife and kids?"

I shrugged my shoulders wearily and started out the door.

"It sure makes a man think," I heard the old man mutter. "It sure makes a man think!"

Notes Of A Seaman *F. J. Lang*

Seamen's Enemy Number One

The U. S. Government is the real boss in the maritime industry and the seamen's main enemy. The Maritime Commission today owns 85 per cent of the 5,000 ships that comprise the American merchant fleet. Of the so-called "privately owned" vessels now in commission, the vast majority are still chartered to the War Shipping Administration. The number returned to private operation can be counted on your fingers.

The ship operators, posing as private employers, have made a pretense of negotiating contracts with the maritime unions. In these negotiations they have deliberately stalled union demands for a 30 per cent wage increase and improved working conditions. Their most repeated argument is that they are only operating agents for the government and that even if they were in favor of a wage increase (which they are not) such increases would have to be approved and paid by the WSA.

These same operators are not only agents for the WSA, they also hold executive posts in that government agency and dictate its policy. Because of this they have been able to deal with the unions in a double capacity—first as "private operators" and secondly as "impartial" government spokesmen. As WSA officials they have told the unions that any wage increase agreed to by the operators probably will be considered favorably, but that it must finally be approved by another government agency, the Wage Stabilization Board.

This double-dealing and buck-passing has made a farce of negotiations between the maritime unions and the "private operators." We have watched this farce for eight solid months. These operators are completely parasitic, because the ships are government-owned and cost of operation (including wages) is paid out of the public treasury.

The threat of strike action by the Stalinist leadership of the CIO maritime unions has served to expose the government not only as the real boss in the industry but also as a potential strikebreaker.

Weapons of A Strikebreaker

Announcement by the CIO unions of the June 15 strike deadline brought immediate counter-threats from spokesmen for the "private operators." This will be a strike against the government, they charged. Stanley Ferguson, shipping expert for the **Journal of Commerce**, is already campaigning for the arrest of union leaders under Section 6 of the War Labor Disputes Act, which outlaws strike agitation against government-owned plants or facilities.

Thus, the "private operators" have abandoned their pretense that shipping is a "private enterprise" and are now preparing, in their capacity as government spokesmen, to break the strike.

They hope to use the legal power of the government if the strike is called. But they have other weapons besides Section 6 of the War Labor Disputes Act.

Under authority of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act they have established a vast system of government training schools and hiring facilities for the maritime industry. Through the War Shipping Administration they can re-allocate ships from "private" companies to the Army Transport Service. This Army Transport Service takes merchant seamen from the government training schools, loads and discharges ships with Army personnel, and is prepared to transport cargo to and from the docks with Army trucks. This is the way the machinery of the government is now rigged to break a maritime strike.

Preparing for the Strike

A successful strike can be organized only if this danger of government strikebreaking is recognized in advance. It is a threat to the entire labor movement. It may be used to wipe out an important section of the trade unions in this country.

In their preparations for strike action, the maritime workers must discard any and all illusions about the role of the Big Business government, which is the main enemy.

Calories Are Not Enough *By Grace Carlson*

In the period between World Wars I and II, public health agencies spent tremendous amounts of time and money and energy in trying to make the American people "vitamin-conscious." Posters in schools and plants, health leaflets, nutrition classes for housewives, hammered away at the idea that people needed vitamin-rich foods in order to stay strong and healthy.

The phrase, "hidden hunger" was coined to describe the condition of the hundreds of thousands of American men, women and children who were getting enough food to eat, as measured in calories but not enough of the protective foods — milk, fresh fruits and vegetables, meat and eggs.

In "Food and Life," the 1939 Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, the dangers of using calories as the sole measure of an adequate diet were pointed out in the foreword:

"People of a certain age will remember the furor about calories early in this century. Apparently the only thing that mattered about food in those days was whether you got enough calories—or too many, so that you became fat; and even today, undernourishment or starvation is still thought of as failure to get enough calories. People can starve to death, however, even when they eat too much food, if some element necessary to life is lacking in the food they get."

There is once again a "furor about calories" and the question of vitamin lacks and "hidden hunger" has been pushed into the background. The science of nutrition has dropped back four decades!

"Hidden hunger" is still a serious problem among the poorly-paid workers of the United States, but this problem has been overshadowed by the terrible specter of open hunger, which today threatens so many millions of European, Asiatic and Indian peoples. This is the state to which capitalist war and destruction, greed, inefficiency and mis-management have brought the peoples of the globe!

In this extremity, where millions of people are getting only one-third to one-half enough calories to sustain life, the American people are being urged to cut down on their calories and share their food with the hungry. The desire to "feed the hungry" is shared by all decent people. American workers and farmers are no exception.

But American workers and farmers are not going to subscribe to the theory of the editorial writer of the **St. Paul Dispatch**, who said on May 18 that the United States is "a nation whose ailments are more from overeating than from undereating."

Compare this scientifically-chosen diet, which the National Research Council recommends, with the food allowances of the average American working-class family and see whether overeating is the great American problem!

1 pint of milk at least, preferably 1 quart
2 servings of potatoes
2 servings of fruit, one of which should be oranges or grapefruit
2 vegetables, one of which should be leafy green or yellow
1 serving of meat, fish or poultry
1 whole-grain cereal dish
Butter or vitamin-fortified margarine
Whole-grain or enriched white bread at every meal

This should be the goal for the people of this country and every other country in the world under any kind of a decent social system. Because enough calories are not enough!

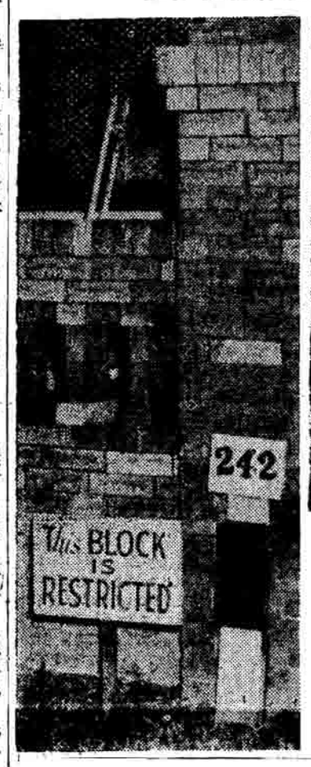
"We Are Not Afraid," Say Negro Couple After KKK Cross Is Burned Before Home

Ku Klux Klan Atrocity In Los Angeles

By Myra Tanner Weiss

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, May 15—"I had already retired. It was close to midnight when my wife saw a sudden light and went to the window to investigate. She saw a flaming cross on our front lawn. She called to me and I knocked the cross down and put out the fire. It was a wooden cross, padded with rags and soaked with an inflammable oil."



Above, Mrs. H. O. Hickerson tells her story to Myra Tanner Weiss, Organizer of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, after the Ku Klux Klan planted a flaming cross on the front lawn of the Hickerson home. This vicious Jim-Crow action followed close on the heels of the Fontana outrage, when an entire Negro family was burned to death by just such capitalist-inspired "white supremacists" who are carrying on an organized campaign to terrorize the Negro population of this area.

At left is a typical street sign brazenly marked "restricted"—which means closed off to Negro occupancy.

Thus, Mr. H. G. Hickerson today described to me the race-hating Ku Klux Klan-like threat to him and his wife on May 12 and their long two-year court fight for the right to live in a home of their own in a section labeled for "whites only."

Mrs. Hickerson, mother of a girl 20 years old and a boy just out of high school, said she didn't know who might have placed the cross there, "but whoever was guilty wanted to frighten us, but I wasn't frightened a bit."

I asked about her neighbors who have been trying to evict them. "None of them appeared on the scene although the fire was very bright. As a matter of fact, even afterward, when the police were there and flashing their lights all over, and the place was crowded with newspaper people, none of the neighbors came over to see what all the commotion was about."

While we were discussing the case, a young Chinese-American neighbor, Tom D. Amer, joined us. His family, also forced to fight in the courts to remain in their home, was visited just two days after they moved in by a Mr. Kroeger and two others, who warned the family to move or they would fight them in court. Young Tom said, "Just wait until my brother gets out of the navy. He'll know how to fight them."

"They aren't going to frighten us out of our homes," Mr. Hickerson agreed. "There's more involved than just us. The whole question of restrictive covenants and all the conditions made by prejudice are at issue. We must not only fight through the courts, but we should also conduct a campaign to get legislation passed doing away with such things. People have been coming to my house and telephoning constantly offering to help. But somehow we've got to be organized so we can all work together. If they can get away with burning crosses on my front lawn, they can do it anywhere."

I asked Mr. Hickerson what he thought about a labor defense organization which would combat vigilante or Klan terror and offer help to anyone who was threatened. "I haven't thought much about that and I don't know if it's necessary now, but it soon will be if we don't organize against them," he said.

We discussed further the character of the campaign we must organize and then I left in order to visit one of the white neighbors who might possibly be "friendly," a Mrs. Cline, who lived up the street a way. She was busy cleaning house for the use of the election board in the coming primaries. She is an elderly woman and politely asked me in.

I told her I was anxious to learn whatever I could about the burning of the cross. "No, I don't know anything about it except that someone told me that the Hickersons burned it themselves for cheap notoriety." She wouldn't tell me who had given her this absurd self-assault theory.

Mrs. Cline blandly assured me that all the people on that block were "very nice" and would never burn a cross. "Besides why would anyone want to burn a cross? It seems to me if I were to burn anything, it wouldn't be a cross. It would be closer than that." She had been pumped so full of "white supremacy" that she could utter words of race hate, even implying murder, in the same manner as she might appraise the weather. The only objection Mrs. Cline said she had to restrictive covenants was that they didn't exclude the Mexicans too!

Two interviews: one with Mrs. Hickerson, a courageous woman ready to face all terror for her elementary right to live in her home, and so that others might have that right; the other with Mrs. Cline, a misguided representative of organized hate, who wants to keep all whose skins are not pale enough segregated and marked out for police brutality, slum conditions, and all the evils that go with a ghetto whether for the Jews in Europe or the Negroes in America.

New York Vets Picket City Hall, Demand Action In Housing Crisis

By A. Royce

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, May 18—Despite rainy weather, 600 veterans picketed City Hall today to demand action on the housing crisis in New York City. They carried hundreds of placards sharply criticizing the stalling of the City administration and demanding an immediate solution for the 211,000 homeless veterans and dependents in New York.

The demonstration climaxed "Housing Action Day," which had been sponsored by the Strauss Committee, led by Nathan Strauss, former Federal Housing Administrator, together with 42 labor, veteran, and civic organizations. Most active in launching the demonstration was the American Veterans Committee.

The AVC not only supported the demonstration, but devoted a major part of its current **Bulletin** to exposing housing conditions in New York. It pointed out that 800,000 families need homes in this city alone, while the proposed Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill would at best provide only 22,000 new dwellings, and 50,000 more are the maximum proposed by the Housing Action Committee. Thus, even if all proposed legislation were enacted, seven out of eight families would STILL be homeless!

The program of the AVC declares:

1. We demand that the Federal government and the New York State and City Administrations proclaim a housing emergency in order to:

(A) Take over for the veterans all unoccupied housing;

(B) Make available an increased percentage of all the quarters in all clubs, hotels and resorts to house veterans;

(C) Halt the wrecking of all housing suitable for veterans, excluding only those structures to be used for public housing projects.

(D) Take all possible measures to utilize all tax-delinquent land and properties to ease the housing crisis. That there be no discrimination in this, or any veterans housing program because of race, creed or color.

(E) Take all possible measures to utilize available appropriations to build decent housing now;

(F) Where feasible and practical, transform available structures other than sub-standard dwellings into adequate housing units.

2. Despite their obvious inadequacies, we demand the immediate passage of the original Patman Bill and the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill.

3. We demand a full-scale building program to provide:

(a) Low-rent public housing projects for veterans and others earning less than $50 a week;

(b) Low cost cooperative dwellings;

(c) Low cost private house construction with veteran priorities.

This program was unanimously adopted by the New York Metropolitan Area Council of AVC on April 1, 1946. "To transform the program from a scrap of paper into reality," the AVC **Bulletin** emphasizes, "requires the united action of all veterans."

Phila. Workers At Westinghouse Vote To Return

By C. Blake

(Special to The Militant)

PHILADELPHIA, May 12—Westinghouse workers of CIO United Electrical Workers Locals 107 and 105 here today voted to go back to work after 119 days of bitter but successful strike struggle which on an 18-cent an hour general increase.

They had defeated the corporation's attempts to undermine the union, introduce wage differentials, discriminate against women workers and eliminate many protective provisions included in former contracts.

For 63 days the company made no offer to the workers who went out on strike January 15, demanding an 18½-cent increase and equal pay for equal work. Despite its $125,000,000 wartime profits, Westinghouse had insisted "make up for loss in take-home pay by working longer hours."

ULTIMATUM REJECTED

Later the company handed down a 25-page Ultimatum, offering only 9.7 cents average increases, no raises for 10,000 lamp workers, discrimination against women, and demanding the right to fire union members at will. The ultimatum was immediately rejected and thrown back into the company's face.

Through the boss courts and state anti-picketing injunctions, the corporation caused the arrest of union leaders and secured police aid in escorting scabs and assaulting pickets. The courageous workers were successful in holding their picket lines firm for 119 days.

The Westinghouse workers consider the final agreement a victory because the company was forced to concede on the major wage rates and working conditions that the workers demanded.

LEARN FROM STRIKE

While the workers at the meeting today generally felt that the agreement was a victory, there was also the feeling that "there is much that we can learn from the strike," as one worker put it. Many of the men feel that the lack of a unified plan of action on the part of the top CIO leadership of the UE and auto and steel unions served to prolong the strikes and weaken their effectiveness.

Also, many felt that some of the terms left to various locals to settle individually, should have been thrashed out in national negotiations.

Cleveland Fisher Body Union Wins After 173-Day Strike

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

CLEVELAND, May 14—CIO United Auto Workers Local 45 members at General Motors' Fisher Body plant here, after a victorious strike of 173 days, began returning to work yesterday.

Continuing the local strike for two months after the general GM settlement, the militant Fisher Body workers forced the company to come to terms on their chief local demand, the elimination of piece-work. An agreement paves the way for the conversion to day rates on all production operations in the plant.

The agreement provides that as each job classification reaches the level of production during the 1941 base year, negotiations will begin to establish a day rate for the job. When the 1941 level is reached on an overall plant basis the change over to day work will be made. This will mean the complete elimination of hated piece-work in the coming months and deals a strong blow to the traditional Fisher Body system of speed-up and rate-cutting.

Concerning wages in the meantime, the agreement provides that a total of 32½ cents an hour in general increases since June 1941 will be added to the basic or guaranteed piece rate for each job. Percentage bonus rates then are to be computed on the higher basic rates.

The great morale maintained by the workers during their six-month strike was reflected in the comments of the returning unionists yesterday: "Now the job is to hold on to what we won, build our local and go forward."

A key factor in the victory was the support of the International Union, which provided funds sufficient to pay strike benefits of $20 weekly. These began after the fifth month of strike and were the final blow needed against the corporation.

This victory has given great encouragement to 7,500 workers in 10 other local unions now on strike in this area.

Local 45 President Charles K. Beckman, voicing the appreciation of the union for the support it received from other unions and individuals, acknowledged contributions of $120,000 in cash for the strike welfare fund and $50,000 worth of food. Especially inspiring were the contributions from workers in other plants at special plant-gate collections.

6 AFL MARITIME UNIONS MEET IN SAN FRANCISCO

By R. Chester

(Special to The Militant)

SAN FRANCISCO, May 18—Meeting in closed sessions top representatives of six AFL maritime unions, this week made preparations for the setting up of an AFL "marine trades division." Unions represented were: the Masters, Mates and Pilots; Teamsters; California State Federation of Labor; International Longshoremen's Association; Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Only brief press statements were made from the Hotel Whitcomb sessions, the major one announcing a request sent to the AFL Executive Council to set up the marine trades department with the necessary constitution and by-laws to "act as a coordinating body to promote the interest and welfare of said organization within the maritime transport industry." This department "shall not engage in any political activity" and has as a main purpose to prevent "jurisdictional disputes within its organizations."

Although this tightening-up would enable the member unions to face the employers with a more solid front, the major purpose of the gathering, however, was to prepare for broad-scale conflict with the CIO maritime unions. This conference followed by one week the "One Big Union" convention of the CIO unions which formed the Committee for Maritime Unity, under Stalinist leadership. Both sides advertised their meetings as steps toward "unity," while each cast threats in the direction of the other organization.

AFL action in regard to the coming CIO waterfront strikes, set for June 15, was discussed, but no position was announced. Instead of coming out for support of the just wage and other demands of the CIO, the AFL conference left the door open for possible strikebreaking through jurisdictional war. The CIO is considered by these hidebound and red-baiting trade union leaders as "dual unions." They oppose certain progressive steps of the CIO unions as "political and not trade union" actions.

Barney Mayes, a paid spokesman for this reactionary clique, made this point clear in public statements that the AFL unions would respect "legitimate" CIO picket lines, but not "political" ones. Mayes, a renegade from the Marxist movement, a servile publicist of certain California AFL red-baiting bureaucrats, and an expert in putting the "finger" on Trotskyism, outlined the tactics to be followed: "The AFL people feel the moves made at the CIO conference were political and had nothing to do with trade unionism as such. Control of the waterfront would be a damned important thing for those who wished to help Russia."

Thus it appears that one important factor behind the conflict of the AFL bureaucrats with the Stalinists is the formers' anti-Soviet bias and their desire to bolster Wall Street imperialism in its campaign against the Sovet Union. The demands raised by the CIO, however, are exclusively those connected with securing better wages and working conditions. With the antagonism between the AFL and CIO maritime unions constantly sharpening, provoked in good part by both the Stalinist and reactionary trade union leaders, the shipowners and waterfront employers are put in a more favorable position just when all the unions are being forced to press for wage increases and shorter hours. The avaricious employers undoubtedly are doing all they can to increase the antagonisms, hoping to play one group of unions against the other.

The ranks of the unions sincerely want unity of all waterfront and maritime workers. For this very reason, every backward step of both leaderships is always carried out in the name of "unity." It will be up to the maritime workers, in opposition to all fake "unity" moves, to forge real unity in their common struggle against the profit-hungry shipowners.